The Outlook

MAY 1, 1918

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

On account of the war and the consequent delays in the mails, both in New York City and on the railways, this copy of The Outlook may reach the subscriber late. The publishers are doing everything in their power to facilitate deliveries

BUY LIBERTY BONDS

At this writing, April 23, the Third Liberty Bond campaign has eleven more days to run. Americans have eleven more days in which to show how thoroughly they are determined to back up their brothers and sons who are fighting at the western front to free the world from German slavery. The bravery of our American soldiers needs no advertisement or emphasis. They have just fought their first big battle, the Battle of Seicheprey. Up to this time our troops had been engaged in small raiding parties and in trench warfare. The fight at Seicheprey was described thus in a few brief but pregnant lines by the Associated Press:

> An entire German regiment, reinforced by strong troops, attacked the sector held by American troops near Seicheprey on Saturday, April 20, when General Pershing's men fought the most serious engagement they have yet experienced. There was hand-to-hand fighting. The Germans at first took the village, but were afterwards driven out.

The complete details have not yet been made public by our Government, but it is clear that our soldiers were not only brave but efficient, and their fighting qualities won the complete approval and applause of their allies. It is apparent that the Germans intended to break through to terrify and wipe out the American sector. In this purpose they made a hopeless failure. A staff correspondent of the New York "Times" says of this fight: "For the first time the Germans have met the Americans in serious fighting, and, as the French say, 'they have broken their noses.' It is a good augury for America."

No matter how many bonds you have bought, go out and buy some more—at least one Baby Bond of $50 in honor of Seicheprey. Our American soldiers are small in number on the western front, but they have shown that they can fight. The $50 Baby Bond is small in size, but it can fight too, if given a chance. If on the last day of the drive here at home ten million Americans would step to the nearest bank or booth and buy a $50 Baby Bond, the total amount would be half a billion dollars. Let us give the Prussians a barrage fire of Baby Bonds on the last day.

THE VALUE OF THE BABY BOND

A well-known investment banker of New York, Mr. John Muir, calls our attention to some facts regarding the Baby Bond with which we think our readers should familiarize themselves:

> There is one phase of all the Liberty Loans which should receive the most careful thought and attention. It is the participation and interest of small subscribers, wage-earners and people of very limited income.
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> For this great multitude the Treasury Department wisely determined to issue $50 and $100 denominations, commonly called "Baby Bonds." A year ago bonds, except to the well-to-do and wealthy classes, were comparatively unknown, and not fully understood when known. A year ago there were 300,000 bondholders in this country. To-day there are over 12,000,000, and to this Third Loan Mr. McAdoo expects to receive subscriptions from 20,000,000 people.
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> To obtain these large numbers of small subscribers every effort was and now is being put forth. Plans were adopted for easy payments for those who could not pay cash.
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> It is well known that immediately the bonds were issued the price began to decline. This created doubt in the minds of small subscribers, and very large sums in small bonds were thrown over, not through need, but through fright because of ignorance about a new and untried investment. Unscrupulous persons paid $35 and $40 for $50 bonds, $75 and $80 for $100 bonds. Of course this is fraud of the vilest kind.
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> The Liberty Bond prices in $1,000 pieces may fluctuate below par for a time, but there is no remote fear at any time that they will ever fall to prices such as the poor small subscriber, through fright, ignorance, stress, or coercion, has had to accept for his small single bond extorted from him by harpies.
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> Therefore I emphasize that the Baby Bond must be stabilized on the basis of the $1,000 bond. The small subscriber must get the wealthy man's price. Let it be known that the Baby Bond holder can look in his paper and know that the $1,000 price is *his* price. With the written approval of the Treasury Department I adopted this principle in June of last year and maintain it.
>
> The small subscriber must equip himself with knowledge about his bonds. It is concisely set forth in the free pamphlet "Your Liberty Bond," distributed by the Third Liberty Loan Committee and others. The public press should disseminate the information to the utmost. It will forestall fraud.
>
> Thus will solidly be built a foundation of confidence amongst the new millions of bondholders of the Nation through the knowledge of the fact that the small investor gets fair and equal terms and treatment with the great.

What Mr. Muir points out can be illustrated by percentages. At this writing the Second Liberty Loan 4 per cent bonds are quoted in the market at 96.70; that is to say, a $1,000 bond of the second issue sells to-day for $967, or three and three-tenths per cent below par. At this rate a $50 bond of the second 4 per cent issue should bring in the market $48.35. Holders of $50 bonds or of bonds of any other denominations should, however, refrain from selling them at any price if they can possibly do so. They are absolutely sure, and they will be paid in full on the date which is printed on the face of every bond.

There is no security in the world to-day of any Government, of any bank, of any railway, or of any industrial company that is so sound and so sure of being paid as the Liberty Bonds of the United States Government. Do not sell them unless you have to, and if you have to sell them because of some catastrophe or crisis in your own affairs, insist on getting the market price for them, which at present is not less than $48 for every $50 bond.

But, above all, buy more bonds.

AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN BATTLE

The Battle of Seicheprey, to which we have referred above, and in which American soldiers were victorious, occurred in the Toul sector and south of the great St. Mihiel salient of the German line. It took place on April 20. The objective of the German attack was the town of Seicheprey. The violence and extent of the attack are shown by the fact that it extended over a front of more than two miles, and that the reports from both sides indicate that the American loss in killed, wounded, and captured was about two hundred. On the other hand, despite the usual German claim that their losses were slight, it appears practically certain that those losses, in fact, exceeded considerably the losses on our side. It has been stated that three hundred German dead were left on the field and that the retreating Germans carried away many wounded.

As usual with such prepared attacks, made after concentra-

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tion, the attacking party drove the defenders back in the first impetus of the assault. The town of Seicheprey was taken by a German advance which followed the sending over of large quantities of poison gas and a terrific bombardment. The Americans, however, launched a counter-attack a few hours later, drove the Germans out of Seicheprey and the neighboring wooded positions, and in the end reoccupied their own original positions.

The accuracy and effectiveness of American artillery barrage are praised by all observers. A peculiar feature of this battle was the reported use by special detachments of Americans of guns corresponding to the sawed-off, double-barreled shotguns of the type used in the old days by the stage-drivers in the Far West. It is said that about ten thousand of these weapons were called for by General Pershing some time ago. They seem to have been effective as weapons of defense, for the correspondents say that the spray of widely scattered buckshot was demoralizing to the advancing German line.

It is evident that in the power of sustaining a serious and terrible attack, and still more in the power of turning the tide of battle and driving the temporary victors off the field, our American forces are soldiers of the first order and the equal of their Allied comrades all along the line. That they are taking a larger and larger part each day is shown by the growing list of losses inevitable to full participation. Up to April 23, 511 Americans are reported as having been killed in action and 103 have died of wounds, while the total number of men wounded is 1,975, of whom only 410 were severely wounded.

IN PICARDY AND FLANDERS

In the week ending April 23 there was no decisive or widely extended action on the part of either of the great contending armies facing one another on the two fighting fronts which have resulted from the two separate attempts of the German armies to break through to the Channel. But there has been evidence of the stiffening and strengthening of the British and French power of resistance. In the minor actions here and there in which the two armies have been feeling out each other's strength and purpose, both the French and the British have been more successful than their enemies. Thus, while in Flanders, as noted last week, the Germans were able to occupy a large part of the Messines Ridge, and were gradually creeping around it from the south and west, they have been held firmly from any notable farther advance. The British have repelled attack after attack on Mount Kimmel, a commanding elevation which, if not actually a part of the Messines Ridge, is adjacent to it. The same general truth holds regarding the lines in the great salient in Picardy, but on April 23 the British attacked on the Somme north of Albert, with some gains.

Evidence accumulated all through the week ending on April 23 that General Foch's first effort has been to fill in whatever weak places there may be in the British lines with French reinforcements. Not until those lines are so strong that they may be depended upon to check new German assaults, which may be directed toward Amiens in the southern offensive and in the northern offensive toward Hazebrouck, does he propose to risk a decisive attack with his reserves. At the end of the week military opinion seemed to incline strongly to the conviction that the most probable new move by the German armies would be in a turning operation in the neighborhood of Arras, and it is reported that great masses of German troops are being concentrated for that purpose. The feeling seems to be growing among military observers that the Germans' position is such that they must either stake all on a new final offensive within a short time or must withdraw and admit failure. Unless they can extend their lines to the north and south they will, as one correspondent says, "find themselves bottled up in a narrow stretch of country in such a manner that they can for the time being neither go forward nor properly provision themselves where they are."

Not a little comment was caused by a statement from Major-General Maurice, of the British War Office, in which he likened the present position to that of the British at Waterloo, and said: "It is unpleasant business standing the hammering, but so long as we can stand it the only question to be asked is: What is happening to Blücher? What has become of the reserves?"

General Maurice did not necessarily mean to complain of any lack of activity by General Foch, but by many readers the utterance was so understood, and when a day or two later it was announced that General Maurice had been transferred to a command at the front, it was inferred that this was a result of his remarks. It is said, however, that General Maurice's transferral had been planned for some time. No one can doubt that General Foch will employ the great powers now in his hands as they should be used by a general distinguished for his knowledge of strategy as well as for the suddenness of his attacks.

ENGLAND'S FIGHTING SPIRIT

England's back is to the wall, as Sir Douglas Haig has said; but that does not mean that Englishmen are despairing. On the contrary, there is every evidence that with increased difficulties has come to England a spirit of increased resolution.

Of course Englishmen are disappointed that America is still feeble in the war. They do not put it just this way. When they speak of it, they couple it with a tribute to America. This is what Lloyd George did in his speech of April 9. It is worth while quoting what he said. Referring to "the material and dramatic assistance rendered by President Wilson in this emergency," in agreeing to let American soldiers be brigaded with the British and the French, Lloyd George said:

> In America there is a very considerable number of men in the course of training, and the Allies looked forward to having a large American army in France in the spring. It has taken longer than was anticipated to turn those soldiers into the necessary divisional organizations. If America waited to complete these divisional organizations, it would not be possible for these fine troops in any large numbers to take part in this battle in this campaign, although it might be very well the decisive battle of the war.
>
> This was, of course, one of the most serious disappointments from which the Allies had suffered. It is no use pretending it was not one of our chief causes of anxiety. We depended upon it largely to make up the defection of Russia.

The British Premier, like a true gentleman, then paid his tribute to the American decision on behalf of unity. But of course we Americans know, or ought to know, that the actual power exerted by American forces, even when brigaded with the French and British, is comparatively small, because the numbers are not large. So England must make deeper sacrifices and new efforts. She is planning, therefore (think of it, Americans!), to increase her conscription age to fifty, and in some cases to fifty-five. It is true that few men over forty-two will go into actual combatant service, and that men of fifty-five will be selected only because of some special qualification; but the men that England needs she is going to take, and she has to go to men of that age because we are not ready yet.

And England is more ready than we to make changes in administration whenever necessary for improvement. While we hold on to men who have continued to make mistakes, England has changed. Perhaps the most significant of recent appointments is the selection of Lord Milner, who might be called the maker of South Africa, to be Secretary of State for War. He succeeds Lord Derby, who goes to Paris as Ambassador. New vigor in the administration of the British War Department is expected by the accession of Lord Milner.

Another change not so easy to understand is the appointment of Austen Chamberlain as a member of the War Cabinet. Mr. Chamberlain is perhaps best known as the son of his father, Joseph Chamberlain, though he has made some reputation in public life, having held, for example, the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. His appointment at a time when England's back is to the wall is not greeted by unanimous acclaim. Lord Northcliffe, in his newspapers, declares it to be "cynical trifling." Nevertheless, there are very few men in American public life in corresponding positions of authority who have wider experience or greater ability than Mr. Chamberlain. English standards for such an office seem to be higher than ours.

Furthermore, England's resolution to pursue the fight with

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greater vigor is shown in the new Budget. By the bill that was introduced by the Government into Parliament it is proposed to raise the immense sum of more than fourteen billion dollars. Of this sum about four billion dollars are to be raised by taxation. In other words, the United Kingdom, with a population considerably less than half that of the United States, plans to secure by taxes in the coming year as much as the United States secured this past twelvemonth.

Such an example as England is setting is a worthy one for us to emulate. We Americans will find in this example a new stimulus to our own spirit of resolution and courage.

THE LICHNOWSKY REVELATIONS

In the court of international opinion, Germany is now condemned out of the mouth of her own witness. The publication in this country of the full text of the Lichnowsky memorandum, to which we briefly referred last week, has enabled Americans to judge for themselves of its immense importance and seriousness. We are indebted to the New York "Times" also for the publication, side by side with the memorandum as it first appeared in the Stockholm Socialist newspaper "Politiken," of long extracts from the complete memorandum, which did not appear in the Stockholm paper, but which the Berlin "Vorwärts" has had the courage to print. These latter extracts deal in more detail with the earnest attempts made by Sir Edward Grey in England in 1912 to bring about a reasonable understanding between the Great Powers in regard to disputed questions and his equally earnest attempts to prevent war in 1914, and also throw new light on the history of the Balkan situation, and especially the Serbian question. Supplementing and confirming the memorandum is a statement by Dr. Mühlon, a former member of the Krupp Directorate. This is also printed in the "Times."

There seems to be no question whatever of the authenticity of Prince Lichnowsky's remarkable statement. It is idle to attempt to wave aside this exposure of Germany's methods on the theory that Prince Lichnowsky is a man of no consequence. A man who was in turn German Ambassador in Vienna and London is not to be dismissed in this fashion. Moreover, the memorandum was not written for argumentative purposes, nor was its publication intended by its author. He has himself stated that it got into circulation "through an indiscretion," and has expressed his extreme regret at the fact. If, then, the document was intended to influence German rather than foreign opinion, its value as a historic document is all the greater.

Prince Lichnowsky traces the development in Germany, for years before the critical situation in 1914, of two trends of opinion and purpose. Personally, he then believed that international difficulties could be solved without war, but the controlling powers in Berlin were simply determined not to allow such a settlement. Thus, after the first Balkan War he would have left the settlement to the Balkan peoples themselves. The other course was for Germany to give up the rôle of mediator in the East and support Austria without reserve. He comments: "I urged the former course from the beginning, but the German Foreign Office very much preferred the latter." This was in keeping with the action of Germany in the Moroccan matter, as to which an Austrian diplomat said to the Prince: "The French had begun to forget *la revanche*. You have regularly reminded them of it by trampling on their toes." When Sir Edward Grey was urging conciliation in the Albanian matter, says Prince Lichnowsky, he "hardly ever took the French point of view. On the contrary, he nearly always took our part in order to give no pretext for war," and he "conducted the negotiations with care, calm, and tact." But here, as at other times, says the Prince, "instead of adopting the English point of view, we accepted that dictated to us by Vienna."

For Germany, he thinks, this was one more of many wretched mistakes: "We had always backed horses which it was evident would lose, such as Kruger, Abdul Aziz, Abdul Hamid, Wilhelm of Wied, and finally—and this was the most miserable mistake of all—Count Berchtold" (the Austrian Foreign Minister who forced war on Serbia).

When it comes to the actual circumstances of the outbreak of war in 1914, Lichnowsky, with the despairing pessimism of a man who has seen his just ambitions to secure peace for the world thwarted, speaks with astonishing frankness. This passage is so complete in its condemnation of Germany's policy and action that it is likely to become historic. We quote it in full:

> As appears from all official publications, without the facts being controverted by our own White Book, which, owing to its poverty and gaps, constitutes a grave self-accusation:
>
> 1. We encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Serbia, although no German interest was involved, and the danger of a world war must have been known to us—whether we knew the text of the ultimatum is a question of complete indifference.
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> 2. In the days between July 23 and July 30, 1914, when M. Sazonoff emphatically declared that Russia could not tolerate an attack upon Serbia, we rejected the British proposals of mediation, although Serbia, under Russian and British pressure, had accepted almost the whole ultimatum, and although an agreement about the two points in question could easily have been reached, and Count Berchtold was even ready to satisfy himself with the Serbian reply.
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> 3. On July 30, when Count Berchtold wanted to give way, we, without Austria having been attacked, replied to Russia's mere mobilization by sending an ultimatum to St. Petersburg, and on July 31 we declared war on the Russians, although the Czar had pledged his word that as long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.
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> In view of these indisputable facts, it is not surprising that the whole civilized world outside Germany attributes to us the sole guilt for the world war.

THE KAISER'S RESPONSIBILITY

Prince Lichnowsky places the responsibility for the war not merely on Germany, but also on the military party. Dr. Mühlon goes further by indicating the responsibility of the Kaiser. He gives testimony concerning a confidential conversation between Dr. Helfferich, later Vice-Chancellor, and the Kaiser, in which the Kaiser said that "he would declare war immediately if Russia mobilized" and repeatedly insisted "that this time nobody would be able to accuse him of indecision."

It is evident, from the Lichnowsky and Mühlon memoranda, that there is a party in the upper classes of German society who hold the Kaiser and the military party responsible for the war. Strong indications of this have already appeared in the famous book "J'Accuse" and in the articles by Prince Hohenlohe to which we have heretofore referred. How far this feeling has spread in Germany it is hard to tell; but the fact that the memoranda of Prince Lichnowsky and Dr. Mühlon have been made subjects of discussion in the Reichstag indicates that the feeling has spread too far for the Hohenzollerns completely to suppress it.

What would happen if the opinions expressed in these memoranda and the book and the articles to which we have referred should spread among the people may well be the subject of anxiety to Germany's rulers. The doctrine that might makes right has pervaded the German people and given a quasi-moral authority to the military party. The people are not merely in abject submission to the power of that party, but also to some extent in moral subjection to its authority. If its power is destroyed, its moral authority will be at least weakened. If at the same time the people, or any considerable proportion of them, are persuaded that the Kaiser and his party are responsible for the terrible tragedy inflicted on the nation, the authority of the Kaiser and his party will be overthrown altogether, and something of the hatred now felt for the English as the authors of the war will be transferred to the Kaiser as the author. In that case, the Hohenzollern Government might collapse as the Government of the Czar collapsed in Russia, and we should have to deal not with the German Government, but with a people partially at least disillusioned.

The military rulers of Germany themselves, we believe, foresee this possibility, and therefore are undertaking to anticipate it by their present military offensive on the western front. They are hastening to smash the Allies before their own power is smashed or their own authority is weakened at home. They believe that if they can succeed now they will save themselves.

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They see the coming danger, and they must avert it before America adds her strength to the Allied line.

What urges speed upon these German rulers urges speed upon us. It is a race between the military rulers of Germany and the free people of America. It is of prime importance, therefore, that we speed up our getting men and munitions into the field. If our allies are even temporarily defeated, the disaster will be great. On the other hand, if we can inflict on the enemy a stunning blow now, it may be decisive and the end may be nearer than we think.

BARON BURIAN AND COUNT TISZA

The new Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Baron Stefan Burian, is sixty-seven years old. He is a Hungarian of much ability. He has been Foreign Minister before. He was in office at the time of the Ancona affair, and was the author of the letters *from his Government to ours*.

Count Czernin, his predecessor, has perforce had to be the scapegoat for the famous letter written a year ago by the Austro-Hungarian Emperor, for which atonement to Germany must be made. But, quite aside from this, Count Czernin's resignation and the reappointment of Baron Burian are significant. Burian, it is popularly believed, is more amenable to dictation from Berlin than was Czernin. Of course if Austria-Hungary is content to play second fiddle it would seem well to have those in authority at Vienna who follow the lead of Berlin.

Despite the official statement from Vienna that neither the foreign nor the home policy of the Government is affected by the change in the Foreign Ministry, newspaper comment indicates the contrary. The Budapest papers, speaking of their compatriot's appointment, emphasize the fact that unyielding loyalty to the German Alliance is the main feature of the Burian policy, a view echoed by the German papers, the Berlin "Vossische Zeitung," for example, declaring that such loyalty will be more sharply accentuated by Burian than it has been by Czernin.

"No annexations" was the bait long dangled before the Russians by Count Czernin. At a time when the German Government is seeking to get the Reichstag to rescind its "no annexations" resolution of July 19, 1917, Czernin's resignation would certainly seem to be in line with the German Government's policy.

Close on the heels of the change in the Austro-Hungarian Cabinet came one in the Hungarian Ministry. The Hungarian Prime Minister, Dr. Alexander Wekerle, and his Cabinet resigned. Dr. Wekerle is believed to be Hungary's ablest financier. Concerning Hungary's provincial development, however, as Prime Minister from 1906 to 1910 Dr. Wekerle was partly responsible for the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia, and wholly responsible for the introduction of absolutism in the Hungarian provinces of Croatia-Slavonia—an absolutism which before the war showed itself in the shocking treason trial at Agram, the capital of Croatia-Slavonia, and during the present war by the more shocking brutalities to which The Outlook has already called attention—the summary imprisonments, shootings, hangings, and wholesale exiles.

The Slavs of Croatia-Slavonia, as well as the Rumans of Transylvania, can testify to the spirit which has long accentuated the Magyar, a spirit of distinctly Hungarian control of Hungary as opposed to any voice in that control on the part of the smaller nationalities. The smaller nationalities together constitute a majority of the whole population.

It is reported that Dr. Wekerle's successor is to be Count Stefan Tisza, who resigned as Prime Minister nearly a year ago. If so, this, together with the appointment of Baron Burian, will emphasize Hungarian preponderance in the Dual Empire, and also the fact that underneath present subservience to Berlin the Hungarians cherish the longing to assert more and more their independence of Vienna. In this they naturally seek the indorsement of Berlin—theirs is a double play.

Among the statesmen of the twentieth century Count Tisza is a marked personality. His father, Koloman Tisza, was for many years a mighty leader in Hungarian Government affairs. The son has followed in his father's footsteps. A patrician of great name, he has been a chief prop of autocracy in Europe, and his share in precipitating the present war is said to be greater than has yet been realized. Although lacking in tact, he is a man of impressive personal courage, as has been shown by his readiness to fight frequent duels. When he was fired upon in the House of Deputies, he forced through an arbitrary revision of the Standing Orders in defiance of law and precedent, and introduced an armed guard to maintain decorum inside the Chamber and to remove refractory Deputies such as the man who had attempted to kill him.

Hungary will have less to hope for in electoral reform under Tisza than under his immediate predecessors. But domestic affairs just now necessarily take second place. The rise again to power of such men as Burian and Tisza, as with the German Government's reactionary effort with the Reichstag, shows the recrudescence of the old Pan-Germanic scheme in all its ruthlessness.

WHAT HEINE THOUGHT ABOUT PRUSSIA

In a recent address in the United States Senate the Hon. Lawrence Y. Sherman, Senator from Illinois, quoted the opinion of Heine as being to the effect that the Prussian is by nature stupid and cruel, and by science he is made ferocious, wicked, and dangerous.

The Outlook wrote to Senator Sherman for the sources of his quotation, and he has replied, giving the following quotations from the famous German poet:

> It is true that even recently friends of the Fatherland have desired the extension of Prussia, and hope to see in its kings the masters of a United Germany. They have baited and allured patriotism to it; there was a Prussian liberalism and the friends of freedom look confidingly towards the lindens in Berlin [an allusion to the famous Unter den Linden, the broad highway, planted with lindens, leading from the royal castle to the Brandenburg Gate].
>
> On the contrary, I watched with anxiety this Prussian eagle, and, while others boasted that he looked so boldly at the sun, I was all the more observant of his claws. I did not trust this Prussian, this tall and canting, white-gaitered hero with a big belly, a broad mouth, and a corporal's cane which he dipped in holy water ere he laid it on. I disliked this philosophic Christian military despotism, this conglomerate of white beer, lies, and sand. Repulsive, deeply repulsive to me was this Prussia, this stiff hypocritical Prussia, this Tartuffe among states.—*Preface to "Letters from Paris," Vol. I, p. 16.*
>
> . . . if the Fichtean dares all dangers because for him they do not exist in reality, and the philosopher of nature will be terrible because he will appear in the lion with the primitive powers of Nature, able to evoke the demoniac energies of old Germanic Pantheism—doing which there will awake in him that battle-madness which we find among the ancient Teutonic races who fought neither to kill nor conquer, but for the very love of fighting itself. It is the fairest merit of Christianity that it somewhat mitigated that brutal German *gaudium certaminis*, or joy in battle, but it could not destroy it.—"*Germany*," *Vol. I, p. 207.*

Senator Sherman adds that in his boyhood he knew Friedrich Hecker, one of the German patriots of 1848, and that he expressed the same sentiments as the above concerning the Prussians. Many German immigrants of that time settled in and about Belleville, Illinois, and it was among them that Mr. Sherman had his early experiences. They were all ardent popular government people. General Sigel and Lorenz Brentano were among the 1848 Germans. They had all left their native country because of persecution and imprisonment, and, almost to a man, they opposed the King, one of the present Kaiser's predecessors. They believed in constitutional limitations on his power. This was regarded as treason. It made these men exiles and sent to our soil some of the best of the German blood on this continent.

THE MURDER OF A CATHEDRAL

In law the crime of murder in the first degree involves the elements of criminal intent and deliberate purpose. The destruction of Rheims Cathedral by the Germans is murder, for in a spiritual and historical sense the edifice was animate. Its death is the climax of Teutonic *Kultur* in a war against civilization. After the earlier attempts to destroy the Cathedral, apologists declared that it was being used by the French for military

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Cassel in the New York Evening World

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HIS BACK TO THE WALL!

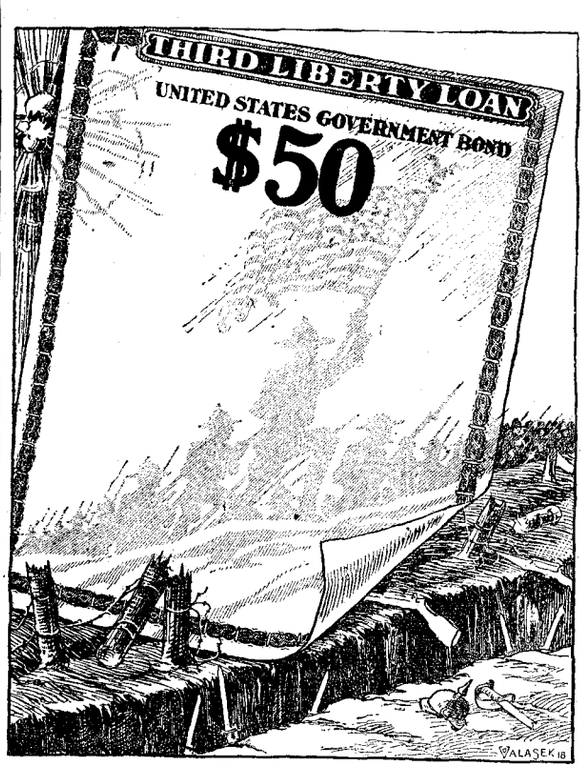
JOHN BULL'S JAW IS SET

Kirby in the New York World

"PLEASE, SIRE, I NEVER SAID IT"

EMPEROR CHARLES BACKS DOWN

Valasek in the Chicago Herald



VICTORY INSURANCE

THE MEN BEHIND THE LIBERTY BOND

From La Victoire (Paris)

IN RUSSIA

The Bolshevik to the Kaiser: "You are leading me to the Social Revolution, are you not?"

MISPLACED CONFIDENCE

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purposes. The venerable Archbishop Lucon, who, like a true soldier of Christ, had remained at his post near the Cathedral throughout the attacks, solemnly pledged his word that it was not being used in any way by the French army. His word carries conviction. Apart from that, the repeated attacks by the Germans have been of such a nature as to indicate that no military purpose, but rather the refinement of cruelty and contempt, actuated these attacks.

Quite lately came reports that the Germans had fired more than one hundred thousand shells into the heart of the city of Rheims, that the beautiful Cathedral is falling stone by stone, and that there will soon be nothing left but its west front and a few columns. This attack on church and city had nothing whatever to do with any of the military offensives lately carried on by the German armies. The destruction has had no other object than to give on a huge scale an illustration of the German purpose of ruthlessness and frightfulness. Instead of inducing terror and weakness, it will inspire courage and devotion. It has been noted by more than one observer that the attacks upon Rheims Cathedral have invariably followed some check to the Germanic arms or some failure to accomplish a large object. It has been suggested that the last and most devastating attack of all was instigated by the thwarting of the German attempt to drive the British and French forces to the Channel. It seems almost incredible that such spitefulness and viciousness could exist in a great nation like Germany, but there seem to be very good reasons for thinking that they do exist. The result has been described by one writer in these words: "Almost in a moment, as time is measured in chronicles so venerable as those of Rheims, the barbarians, with no object in mind except devilish destructiveness, have reduced to dust irreplaceable monuments to an æstheticism that was ancient when modern civilization was young."

THE DESTRUCTION OF WORKS OF ART

"Pillage is formally forbidden."

These four words constitute the entire text of Article 47 of the Fourth Convention of the fifteen conventions which make up the great Hague Treaty of 1907. Forty-four nations, of course including Germany and Austria, recorded their decisions therein.

Contrast the language of Article 47 with the reported language of the Teuton General von Dithfur to the effect that "if all the monuments and all the masterpieces of art went to the devil it would not matter. . . . Let them call us barbarians! What does it signify? We are sufficiently tired of this wearisome outcry regarding the Cathedral of Rheims. A great many other monuments are destined for the same fate."

These ideals have found expression not only at Rheims, but in the fate of the Library at Louvain, of the Market Hall at Ypres, of the Town Hall at Arras, and of the Cathedral at Ancona.

War inevitably causes destruction. But the sacrifice necessary to gain victory is one thing; the encouragement of cruelty by explosions of insane and useless ferocity is another. So asserts Signor Corrado Ricci, the eminent Italian authority on art. He points out that history is not wanting in magnificent examples of careful respect for beautiful objects even amid the fury of deadly conflicts; that Demetrius besieging Rhodes wished to spare the "Gialiso," or, as we say, the "Ialysus," of Protogenes, the Greek painter; that Louis XIV at Cambrai commanded that the monuments of the town should not be hit; and that General Raffaele Cadorna gave similar orders on September 19, 1870, at the siege of Rome.

These remarks preface the report of the Leonardo da Vinci Society of Italy concerning the protection of monuments and works of art. The Society's creed is that "it is the duty of our generation to guard the patrimony of art and culture which has been transmitted and intrusted to it, and for which, as a sacred charge, it is responsible to future ages;" that "artistic and historical monuments, galleries, museums, libraries, and archives—in short, all centers and collections of art and culture—should be scrupulously respected by the contending armies, both during and after the war, as noble witnesses of the past, which belong not to one nation only but to the whole civilized world."

This proclamation was made by the Leonardo da Vinci Society in January, 1915. Later in that year Austro-German comment on it came in the destruction of Tiepolo's fine ceiling in the Church of the Scalzi and in the grave damage to other Venetian churches.

The Society thereupon passed a resolution holding up to the reprobation of the world "a hostile system which, without any serious military aim, and only in the vain hope of intimidating a dauntless and vigilant population, vents itself upon monuments and works of sovereign beauty which were created for the uplifting and joy of civilized man."

The Leonardo da Vinci Society has now published an illustrated brochure showing the ghastly hostile bombardments at Ancona, Ravenna, and Venice. The Society's protests have found, we are glad to say, an echo in the following statement signed by a host of distinguished persons in England:

> We, the undersigned, affirm that it is the duty of the present generation to preserve intact the heritage of art that has been handed down to us. We therefore record our indignant protest against every assault upon this heritage, and in particular against the repeated bombardment of Venice by enemy aeroplanes without any serious military objective. We hold such acts of barbarism up to the reprobation of the whole civilized world.

SEDITION

The Department of Justice has been criticised for not attending to more cases of pro-German sedition, for not publishing lists of the enemy aliens interned, and for not acting under the treason statute. This statute, the Attorney-General contends, is unworkable in sedition cases. The Department receives an average of upwards of fifteen hundred complaints of suspected sedition a day. All of them are carefully investigated. Most eventually prove unfounded. While it would be absurd to say that every hostile act has been successfully run down, energetic effort, we are sure, is being made to ferret out and punish hostile activities. Such effort would be more successful if there were sufficient law concerning sedition. It is true that one clause of the Espionage Act, passed June 15, 1917, is of value. But it does not go far enough.

In particular, in the secret opposition to the present effort to float a Third Liberty Loan there is a peculiarly subtle and insidious form of sedition among German propagandists. There is not enough law to reach them, either, in this activity.

Of course the Government should have the power to stamp out all disloyalty; in especial, it should have the power to float its Liberty Loans without secret seditious opposition.

What is sedition?

It may consist of words or deeds. As defined in the Espionage Act, above mentioned, sedition may be—

> Obstruction to recruiting or enlistment.
>
> Causing or attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, or mutiny in the Army or Navy.
>
> False reports or statements intended to interfere with the operation of the Army or Navy.
>
> False reports or statements intended to promote the success of our enemies.

Congress has just passed a bill amending the Espionage Act by including in the definition of sedition—

> Discouragement or the attempt to discourage recruiting or enlistment.
>
> The attempt to incite insubordination, disloyalty, or mutiny.
>
> The saying or doing of anything with intent to obstruct the sale by the United States of its bonds or other securities.
>
> The displaying of enemy flags or the favoring of our enemies' cause in the war.
>
> The uttering, writing, or publishing of any disloyal or abusive language about our form of government, the Constitution, the flag, our soldiers and sailors, or the advocacy of any curtailment of production necessary to the prosecution of the war.

If enacted as originally drafted, the bill might have abridged the right of free speech; it might have prevented legitimate criticism of the President. In its present form, however, its sponsors declare that it has no power to punish any one who disagrees with the Government's policies, but only one obviously engaged in propaganda to spread abroad criticism with the intent to embarrass the Government machinery. The penalty is a fine not exceeding $10,000 or imprisonment not exceeding twenty years, or both.

Sedition, however, may take other and less subtle forms than

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those above defined and with more immediate embarrassment to our Government. Sedition may mean the destruction or injury of war materials and war transportation facilities. War material comprises arms, armaments, ammunition, clothing, food, and fuel. The men who poison cattle and burn flour mills and injure munition machinery are not necessarily Germans; many are I. W. W. Americans. Only a fortnight ago, it was reported, a mechanic employed in the Liberty Motor plant willfully broke a complex machine, causing a loss in production of thirteen airplane engines. To deal with such mechanics Congress has now, we are glad to say, passed a bill imposing a still greater term of imprisonment than does the Sedition Bill above described. This, the Destruction of War Materials Bill, provides for fines of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment for not more than thirty years, or both.

Thus, under these two Acts, if prosecuting officers now do their duty, there will be less excuse for lynch law as an evidence of patriotic Americanism!

COURTS MARTIAL?

The above measures (together with the Woman Spy Bill, just signed by the President) provide necessary additional law.

But how about its enforcement, particularly with regard to spies? In some places judges, juries, and prosecuting officers are not above suspicion, not on account of over-zeal but on account of under-zeal. The New York "Evening Post's" Washington correspondent informs us as follows:

> The arrogant tactics of Germans in public office in Wisconsin . . . angered the Senate Military Committee and brought about the proposal to suspend jury trials and try these offenders by court martial. Inability to get twelve true Americans on Wisconsin juries and other embarrassing difficulties due to the presence of a large German population in that State swung the Senate Committee on Military Affairs into line. . . . The Federal Judiciary, which means judges as well as prosecutors, have been put on probation. If they do not handle it well, Congress will demand martial law. Mr. Wilson could, of course, proclaim certain zones under martial law, and if the situation does not improve in Wisconsin some such measure is sure to be considered. In that case precautions could be taken to send to Wisconsin the best lawyers who have enlisted in the Judge-Advocate General's office of the Army, so that the country will be safeguarded against any miscarriage of justice through incompetent military men.

The proposal which arose during the recent hearings before the Senate Military Affairs Committee has now been put in the form of a bill by Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of that Committee. The measure provides that spies shall be subject to trial by general court martial or by military commission of the Army or court martial of the Navy, and on conviction shall suffer death or such other punishment as shall be directed.

The announcement of the introduction of this bill created commotion. President Wilson took as regards this bill the same course that he took last January, on the introduction by the same Senator of bills equally repugnant to the White House; that is to say, he wrote a letter about the matter and made it public. He objects to the bill on four grounds:

1. It is unconstitutional.
2. It is inconsistent with the spirit and practice of America.
3. It would put us nearly upon the level of the people against whom we are fighting.
4. Recent legislation makes it unnecessary and uncalled for.

The New York "Tribune" declares that, though to transfer jurisdiction over crimes of sedition and treason from the civil to military courts would be inconsistent with American practice, there is a rising demand that it be done, because the treatment of the enemy alien menace has been ineffective, and people are willing to choose the lesser evil and say, "Better that we should set up military courts, with all the risk that will entail upon civil rights, than that the enemy within should continue to be immune."

As to an immediate effect, the Washington correspondent of this paper says that the introduction of the bill will stimulate the Department of Justice to greater efforts. He reports: "Just as the War Cabinet and Munitions Bills were followed by a great reorganization of the war machine, so, it is expected, the Courts Martial Bill will speed up the prosecution of German agents."

The New York "Times" calls attention to a decision rendered by the Supreme Court in 1866, which dealt with the case of a citizen of Indiana who had been tried by court martial and sentenced to death. The case was carried through the Federal courts to the Supreme Court, which by a 5–4 vote held that in a State which was not invaded or in rebellion and where the civil courts were still in unobstructed operation military courts had no authority to try a man who was not a resident of a State in rebellion or a prisoner of war. This bare majority decision was made at a time when the Civil War had just ended and when there was a general desire for reconciliation. In view of the fact that we are still in the beginning of our war with Germany, the Supreme Court, should a similar case be brought to it to-day, might possibly, the "Times" suggests, reverse its former decision.

In general, it may be said that as we are not in the throes of an insurrection it would be unjustifiable to establish martial law throughout the entire country. The present Federal law is insufficient. That, however, is no reason for transferring the issue from the civil to the military power. It is rather a reason for giving the Federal civil authorities a more effective law through which to work. If there has been failure to deal intelligently and vigorously enough with spies, we should apply our intelligence and at the same time increase our vigor.

WANTED—A STATESMAN

One of the greatest public offices in the world is the Chairmanship of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. That office was left vacant when William Joel Stone, senior Senator from Missouri, died on April 14. It has been nothing less than a calamity that during these critical years in the life of the Nation and the world this position of international power has been occupied by a man extremely unfit for it. It is an understatement to say that in his death the Nation has suffered no loss. He was a crafty politician, as his nickname, "Gumshoe Bill," indicates. He knew how to appeal to the ignorant among his constituents without imperiling his own position by solidifying too much the opposition of the intelligent. During the months that elapsed between the outbreak of the war and America's entrance into it Senator Stone was one of the centers of pro-German propaganda; and he went so far as to throw his influence in favor of the yielding of American rights to Germany's policy of terrorism. After America declared war Senator Stone's attitude was nominally loyal, but his influence was still unwholesome. He was master of parliamentary camouflage, and his remarks in the Senate were often the object of the amusement of his colleagues, because in making them he was so obviously disregardful of the intelligence of his immediate hearers and so obviously directing his words to the uninformed in Missouri. His presence in the Senate has been a discredit to his State, and his occupancy of the Chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs has been a discredit to the country.

A foreigner might well inquire why such a man comes to such a position. The answer is one which Americans cannot make with any pride. The Senate fills the chairmanships of the various committees by the unutterably stupid traditional plan of seniority. The man who happens to be the longest in service on a committee among the majority becomes its chairman. No other method could conceivably have put Senator Stone into that office. If there had been a man of statesmanlike qualities in that position, the whole course of the country with reference to the war might conceivably have been radically different, with a resulting saving of countless lives, the preservation of the country's honor, the securing of freedom for peoples who have been enslaved by Germany, and the prevention of untold misery through the shortening of the war.

It is expected that Senator Stone's successor will come to the leadership by the same road by which Senator Stone himself reached it—the road of seniority. In that case the chairmanship will be assumed by Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock, of Nebraska. It is no compliment to Senator Hitchcock to say that he is an

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improvement on Senator Stone; but Senator Hitchcock is not one of the men supremely qualified for the office. At such a time as this, when the country's destiny is at stake, political tradition and partisanship ought to be laid aside. There are two men on the Committee distinctly qualified for the chairmanship. One is Senator Lodge, one of the best-known authorities in the world on international relations; the other is Senator Knox, who has been Secretary of State. But both are Republicans, and Senator Knox is the junior of all the members on the Committee. It is too much to expect that intelligence will really rule in our public affairs when tradition stands in the way. Is it necessary for us to wait until we suffer as England has suffered before we put the Nation's welfare above party?

MR. SCHWAB

Charles M. Schwab has been appointed Director-General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

"Where is Hurley?" some one asks. "I thought he bossed the job."

So he does in respect to the operation of ships. He is the head of the Federal Shipping Board, established by virtue of the Act signed by the President September 7, 1916, to create a Naval Auxiliary, a Naval Reserve, and a Merchant Marine. The Board consists of five members, appointed by the President, one of whom is chairman. Not more than three are from the same political party.

The Board authorizes the construction of vessels; it buys and charters them. It may also form one or more corporations to construct or equip vessels. It did form such a corporation, the Emergency Fleet Corporation. While the Shipping Board has charge of the operation of ships already built, the Emergency Fleet Corporation is charged with the duty of actual construction.

Although the Chairman of the Shipping Board is also the President of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, he has no power to appoint or remove that Corporation's General Manager. Hence Mr. Denman, the first Chairman of the Board, could not remove General Goethals, the first General Manager of the Fleet Corporation. Finally, at the President's instance, both went. They were succeeded, respectively, by Edward N. Hurley, a man of great organizing ability, and by Admiral Capps, an authority in nautical construction. When Admiral Capps's health broke down, Admiral Harris succeeded him, and retired some time since. The Vice-President of the Fleet Corporation, Charles Piez, a successful Chicago business man, took over temporarily the duties of General Manager.

Mr. Hurley, Mr. Piez, and the President, seeking to accentuate the General Manager's office, decided to call its occupant Director-General and to summon to it the strongest man in the country. Their choice fell on Mr. Schwab, the experienced steel-maker and ship-builder, and it was ratified at a meeting of the trustees of the Fleet Corporation.

This appointment, in our opinion, may be regarded as epoch-making in our war progress. The companies controlled by Mr. Schwab are turning out probably more than a fifth of the ships which are being supplied.

Mr. Schwab's chief work has been with the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. When he took control, it was a relatively minor organization. Its production now rivals that of the United States Steel Corporation. In war material and munitions production the Bethlehem Steel concern is the greatest in the world—that is, unless the Krupp Company has been much enlarged during the war. Mr. Schwab's reconstruction of his corporation to fill French orders for guns and munitions is the kind of thing necessary to be done in ship-building also.

Mr. Schwab gets things done. Not only this; he makes men want to work. One reason why men work for him is because they know that he was once a poor boy. Before he entered the service of the Carnegie Company he used to drive a stage from Loretto to Cresson, Pennsylvania. Another reason is because of his persistent cheerfulness despite adverse conditions—just the kind of spirit we may be needing even more than we need it to-day. A hundred and fourteen thousand men work for Mr. Schwab.

The first move of the new Director-General was to settle a question which for weeks has been disputed—as to whether the railways should be given the full tonnage requested for railway construction. The Emergency Fleet Corporation insisted on its priority as regards steel and won.

Mr. Schwab's second move was to remove construction headquarters from Washington to Philadelphia, the center of the largest ship-building district in the country. Out of 730 ways in the United States 211 are located in this district, 165 of them being for steel construction; the Fleet Corporation has let contracts for over 4,300,000 tons of shipping there.

Such moves "mean business." Coming closely after the appointment of Edward R. Stettinius as Assistant Secretary of War, this action indicates that the Administration is beginning to see the necessity for effective business administration in the prosecution of the war.

HOW SHALL WE REDUCE THE PRICE OF MILK?

One of the indirect results of the war, as pointed out some time ago by The Outlook, has been a very considerable increase in the infant death rate in America. This, in the opinion of medical authorities, is unquestionably due to a decrease in the consumption of milk because of the constantly rising price of that commodity.

The sudden increase in price was very naturally ascribed to combination in restraint of trade, and Mayor Mitchel appointed a Committee to examine the situation and see why milk had increased in price and what could be done about it.

Beginning at the source of production, the Committee found that the cost of producing milk varied between 5 and 8½ cents. The larger dairies produce milk much more cheaply than the small ones do. The data from all farms inspected shows that 6⅓ cents a quart is a fair estimate of the yearly average cost of producing a quart of average milk on the average farm under present conditions. For the months of October, November, and December seven cents is a fair estimate.

The Mayor's Committee was of the opinion that milk production can be cheapened by consolidations and co-operations among farmers. Larger herds are recommended. The Committee's data show that herds numbering seven to ten cows produced milk during 1917 at a cost of 6⅔ cents a quart, while herds containing fifty cows or more produced milk for 4⅔ cents a quart. Cows producing less than 4,000 pounds (about 1,900 quarts) a year should be eliminated from the herds. Collective hauling of milk is recommended, and the co-operative buying of grain. Commission merchants assured the Committee that if farmers would buy their grain collectively they could save ten per cent on the cost, which would reduce the cost of milk production one-fifth of a cent a quart.

But the greatest cost to the city consumer, the Committee found, was in the delivery. The Committee refers to the customary early morning delivery as a "relic of the days in which municipalities received their supplies from near-by farms, without the advantages of refrigeration."

The way to reduce the retail price, in the opinion of the Committee, is to eliminate the duplication of deliveries as now practiced by competing firms. The data show duplication in collecting, shipping, hauling, bottling, pasteurizing, and delivering milk. In Philadelphia milk has generally retailed for two cents a quart less than in New York. This is due to the fact, the Committee believes, that in Philadelphia retail loads average three hundred quarts as against two hundred in New York. In Ottawa, Canada, seventy-five per cent of the milk business is in the hands of one firm, which operates at a margin of 3¼ cents a quart above the price of production, as against the operating cost of five cents in Philadelphia and seven in New York.

Mayor Mitchel's Committee urges that steps be taken to bring about the immediate centralization of the delivery system. "Either the municipality itself might undertake the distribution," says the report, "or the companies engaged in distributing milk should be regarded and regulated as public service corporations. And just as now one particular water supply corporation is granted a franchise for a certain territory, so the distribution of milk in a given territory might be restricted to one corporation or to a single delivery agent of the combined distributing companies. Such centralization appears inevitable."

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AGAINST THE WALL[1]

BY THERESA VIRGINIA BEARD

"With our backs to the wall"—Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, April 13, 1918

God spare thee not, America,
This penitential day!
Against the wall, in Flanders,
The nations stand at bay;
And thou, the strong, the mighty,
A laggard at the fray!

God drive thee hard, America,
So hesitant, so slow;
God smite thee in his anger,
And fling thee at the foe;
The last black dregs of sacrifice
May it be thine to know!

God save thee, O America!
The glory and the fame,
Once thy fathers', be thy children's,—
Not thine the deathless shame
That freedom fell in Flanders
Calling upon thy name!

"A LAGGARD AT THE FRAY"

GERMANY has all the summer before her. Spring has barely begun, and she has poured her armies into French territory that has not seen a German since 1914. She first rolled back the French. She has now rolled back the British. And we, a Nation of a hundred million free people, look on helplessly. It is true we have a few score thousands of soldiers at the front; but, spirited and brave as they are, they cannot count greatly when millions are engaged. We have been in this war for a year and longer, and the American forces at the front are to be ranked in numbers with the Belgians and the Portuguese. We read each day in the newspapers of what these brave and fine young soldiers of America are doing. We are proud of them. We believe in them. We know we can count on them. But they are few, pitifully few. And we have not given them even the arms that they need. They have no artillery except such as that of which hard-pressed France deprives hard-pressed Italy to give them. A while ago Mr. Baker, our Secretary of War, stood in a front trench in France and called it the "frontier of freedom." Since then that frontier has been pushed back. Behind the armies that are defending that frontier are the liberties of the world. Behind those armies is the freedom of America. Our British friends and our French friends have been very generous in what they have said of America's preparations, and we thank them for their generosity; but we owe heartiest thanks to such a friend as Lloyd George, who did us a service in expressing disappointment at our slowness.

No one except our enemies will profit if we fool ourselves. We Americans will never count in this war unless we face the facts. It will help us to face the facts to listen to such a voice as that of Theresa Virginia Beard, whose poem, "Against the Wall," we print on this page. This country is, as Mrs. Beard says, a laggard at the fray. Our people have been led to imagine that there was no need for hurry.

Our Government has been deliberate when it ought to have been in haste. It has gone about its preparations as if there were plenty of time. Our Army has needed machine guns with which to meet the oncoming Germans, and our Government, instead of using machine guns already available, has waited to perfect a machine gun that may prove to be better than those in existence; but in the meantime the Germans have come on. Our Army has needed airplanes, and our Government, instead of using airplane motors already in existence and tested in war, has waited to perfect its Liberty motor, which may prove better than any existing motor; but in the meantime our soldiers at the front are dependent upon the airplanes of the French, and our soldiers even at home have not had the planes which they need for training. It is right to aim at improvement, and even perfection, but we ought not to let action wait upon discovery of the best when need calls for the use of every resource available.

Our Government has acted as if there had been a chance that peace might be secured by negotiation before ever we got into the fight. We have thought that words, that persuasion, that argument, would weigh with a people who celebrated the Lusitania massacre, who glory in the bombing of women and children, who have been taught that they could brandish the sword and no one would dare resist. Our Government has so exalted the use of argument and negotiation that even when the President, openly acknowledging that reliance on persuasion has led only to "disillusionment," declares that America must now use "force without stint or limit," the most consistent supporters of the Government's policies cannot believe that the President means what he says. We quote from the "New Republic:"

> He [President Wilson] is appealing to force without stint or limit because unless he can command it he may not be able to win the indispensable political victory. He says nothing about using it to deal Germany a "knock-out blow." It is needed because German generals have been allowed to dictate terms of peace with Russia and Rumania, and because they will not abandon their military conquests and advantages until they have been defeated. But the unlimited force is asked expressly for the purpose of obtaining a revision of the proposed settlement in the east, and the German Government can always remove the threat by agreeing to abandon the treaties.

Does this sound incredible? Is it possible that there are sane people in this country who can see what has happened across the water and yet believe that our millions of soldiers, the billions of dollars we are paying by taxes, the billions that we are raising by loans, and all the preparations we are making through the Red Cross and through our Army Medical Corps for the care of the wounded and disabled constitute only the gun behind the door? No wonder America is a laggard if there are many who believe this.

And America is a laggard. The imputation that such a statement as this originates in partisan opposition to the Administration and in a desire to supplant that Administration with another of a different party ought to be resented by all Americans as an attempt to divert public attention from facts to a futile discussion of motives. The facts are plain. They have been elicited by a Senatorial committee of which a majority were of the Administration party; and a majority member of that committee declared in the Senate: "I deem it proper to say that, without regard to the action taken by the Democrats of the committee, the action of the Republican members was particularly patriotic and loyal. They waived any possible political benefit which their party might have derived from denouncing those in power, and willingly joined their Democratic associates in pointing out what they felt would remedy the evils in the future." The Senator who said this was Mr. Hitchcock, of Nebraska, a Democrat, and we quote from his account of what the members of that committee found:

> We found most of the machine-gun companies unable to drill two months after they were formed because they had no machine guns. Even in December we found 1,200 machine guns still kept in storage for some foolish and inexplicable reasons while each camp had only been supplied with about 80 machine guns. . . .
>
> We found men sent to France without opportunity for rifle or machine-gun practice. . . .
>
> We found that we must depend on overworked and overstrained France for machine guns for ground use until nearly the end of this year, and that not over one-tenth of the new Browning machine guns on which we are to rely can be delivered before August. . . .
>
> We found that we are only now, nine months after entering the war, just beginning work on two great powder plants, costing $90,000,000, the powder from which will not be available until next August. We found that we need a million pounds of powder a day more than America is producing. We found that the need of this powder was known last spring, and that now for the first time we are beginning to build the factories in which the powder is to be made. . . .
>
> The present condition of our ship-building is nothing less than

[1] At this time, when our allies are enduring the terrific blows of the German offensive, this poem comes to us from Mr. Roosevelt with this note: "I have just read 'Against the Wall,' a stern and noble poem by Theresa Virginia Beard, which has recently been published in the Minneapolis 'Journal.' Mrs. Beard is the wife of a professor in the University of Minnesota. She is fit to be a fellow-countrywoman of Julia Ward Howe." Some of the prosaic facts which this poem illumines are mentioned in the editorial which follows the poem.—THE EDITORS.

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shocking. The present supply of shipping is worse than alarming. I am afraid to go too deeply into the figures, for one might be charged with giving information of value to the enemy were one to tell the truth about the present supply of shipping.

To our Government belongs the responsibility for such a state of affairs. The Government cannot plead lack of power, for it has been made powerful by Congress beyond the dreams of any Government this country has ever known. It cannot plead lack of funds. It has been endowed with billions by a Congress that has levied unprecedented taxes, and by a people who have wholeheartedly supported such taxation by their cheerful acquiescence, and have added their emphatic support by the loaning of billions more to the Government. It cannot plead lack of warning, for this country watched the progress of the war for two years and three-quarters before it entered the war itself. And now, a year after entering the war, with all funds at its disposal that it has asked for, with ample power, and after full warning, the Government finds itself unable to place any considerable army beside the armies of our allies, and is even unable to persuade some of its own supporters that it really intends to use "force without stint or limit."

For every achievement of this country since war was declared in April, 1917, the Government deserves credit. For the adoption of conscription, for the building of the cantonments, for the creation of a really democratic army that is really disciplined, for the creation of a morale that is beyond anything any American army ever before had and is probably unmatched in the army of any other country, for the rapid expansion of the Navy and its effective use in the submarine zone, and for other like achievements, it is to the Government that credit belongs. But where credit goes also should go blame for mistakes, negligence, failure. And, after all, what counts now is not the incidental achievements, but only victory. Without victory nothing else is of any use. And the failures, the negligence, the mistakes, are to-day imperiling victory. We cannot help those that are past, but the people of America can insist that they shall not be repeated, and can also insist that the men who have made the mistakes, who have been guilty of negligence, who have been responsible for the failures, shall be replaced by competent men.

This is what the American people owe to our allies of Britain and France who are standing with their back to the wall. This is what the American people owe to the weaker free peoples who have been struggling for their rights during these years against the Hun. This is what the American people owe to their soldiers who have already gone to the front, and to the men, the volunteers and the selected alike, who are to-day in training. This is what the American people owe to those thousands who have sacrificed their money, their home ties, their future, and have offered themselves for public service, and have labored and are laboring at their patriotic tasks. This is what the American people owe to themselves as a free people who love their liberty and who disdain to leave to others the task of defending it.

POLITICAL "SCHRECKLICHKEIT"

The world is learning that Germany has deliberately pursued a policy of *Schrecklichkeit*—frightfulness—in order so to terrify neutral nations that they will not oppose her. The policy has failed in affecting belligerents already engaged in the war, but, unfortunately, it has had marked effect on some of the smaller neutrals.

Since the election of Mayor Hylan last November the opponents of the Fusion principle in municipal government have been pursuing a policy of political *Schrecklichkeit* in order to make private citizens afraid ever again to oppose the political machine. The District Attorney of New York County has been carrying on a so-called investigation of finances of the Fusion Committee which directed the campaign in behalf of ex-Mayor John Purroy Mitchel. As a result of that investigation a special grand jury has found an indictment against William Hamlin Childs, who was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Fusion Committee, and was thus the recognized head of the Fusion movement. Mr. Childs has not been accused of or indicted for corruption or making money out of the campaign for himself or any of his associates. He is accused of failing to mention names in two of the financial items of the report of his Committee. The facts are that the Committee employed ex-Governor Sulzer as a speaker during the campaign, and paid him $5,000 for his services; that they also paid Mr. Mischa Appelbaum, the head of an organization known as the Humanitarian Cult, $6,500 for the services of his organization in arranging meetings and speeches in behalf of the Fusion movement. In the Committee's report these two sums of money were named, but they were grouped under the general head of "expenses for speakers, etc.," and ex-Governor Sulzer's name and that of the manager of the Humanitarian Cult were not made public. It may be added that Mr. Childs did not sign the report and did not even see it, that duty belonging to the department of the treasurer, but Mr. Childs had instructed that department that the report should be legal in every respect and that counsel should be consulted in the manner of its preparation, and this was done. Further, there was no conceivable object which could have been accomplished by Mr. Childs in concealing the payments to Sulzer and Appelbaum, as it was several weeks after the election that the reports were filed and every one knew that both Sulzer and Appelbaum had been working hard for the election of Mr. Mitchel under the direction of the Fusion Committee.

It has always been the policy of The Outlook to urge its readers never to try a case or to determine a verdict in advance of the orderly court proceedings which, under both law and equity, must be the final determination of an indictment like that now found against Mr. Childs and his associates. But it is a principle of equity as well as of common law that an indictment is merely a legal complaint, and that even an indicted man must be considered innocent until he is proved guilty. In this particular case there are circumstances which we think every citizen who is sincerely interested in good and honest government ought to know.

Mr. Childs is a prominent business man of New York City, engaged in large affairs and recognized everywhere as an exceedingly able executive. During the last four years he has spent his time and money freely and unselfishly in the cause of good government. In 1916 he organized the Roosevelt Non-Partisan League, in support of Mr. Roosevelt for the Presidential nomination. When Mr. Hughes was nominated, he, with equal vigor and in accordance with the best traditions of Americanism, supported Mr. Hughes for election. He believed, as The Outlook believes, that Mayor John Purroy Mitchel furnished New York City the best administration it has ever had, and while Mr. Childs is a Republican of New England birth and tradition, he gave his aid to the Fusion movement and endeavored to elect Mr. Mitchel as a civic duty. He has not only never made a dollar out of his political work, but he has spent many thousands for the benefit of his fellow-citizens. He has never sought office or political emoluments of any kind, and has declined many suggestions leading in this direction. To single him out, as has been done, in a technical indictment is believed by his friends to be a form of punishment visited upon him by certain sinister political influences in New York City.

Among these sinister influences are the newspapers owned by William Randolph Hearst. They have devoted much attention to the indictment, and have endeavored to make it appear that it is a result of corruption on the part of the Fusion Committee. Some one, certainly not disagreeably to Mr. Hearst, has sent portraits of Mr. Childs and the two associates who were indicted with him, broadcast throughout the State with flamboyant headlines describing, but very unfairly interpreting, the indictment. With these facts it should be observed that Mr. Hearst is believed by the best political judges to be laying his plans for the Democratic nomination for Governor of the State of New York next autumn. If by political *Schrecklichkeit* he can terrify those men who believe he is a menace not only to his State but to his country so that they will not oppose his nomination or election, he will be pursuing a policy which he has often pursued in the past. The Outlook believes that Mr. Hearst is such a menace, that even his nomination as a candidate for Governor of the State of New York would be a very profound danger.

Mr. James M. Beck is recognized throughout the English-speaking world as in a very special sense a representative of

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the finest American patriotism in this war. In an address in Carnegie Hall on November 2, 1917, Mr. Beck said:

> We are to-night concerned with the efforts of pro-German sympathizers to weaken the purpose and sap the morale of the American people by a bastard pacifism.
>
> This serpent must not only be "scotched," but stamped out altogether, if America is to be worthy of its great destiny.
>
> The source and inspiration of this spirit is not far to seek. We need not concern ourselves with its minor rivulets and eddies. We must go to the fountain-head itself and dam up its pernicious influences.
>
> Its chief source is to be found in the journalistic enterprises of one man, and his name is William Randolph Hearst. His power for evil is immeasurable. He is said to own seventeen newspapers and magazines, and, as he controls the policy of papers in Boston, New York, Atlanta, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, the daily influence that he exerts is Nation-wide. No single influence is comparable with the Hearst influence in its potency for evil. His leading organ in this city claims a circulation of 450,000 copies, and, if so, it is altogether probable that it is daily read by a million people in the section to which it is tributary. His adherents do not greatly exaggerate when they claim for Mr. Hearst a daily audience of five millions of people. It is thus within Mr. Hearst's power to convey to these millions the subtle poison of insidiously disloyal utterances, and it may be said without exaggeration that the greatest menace to the part which America is destined to play in the struggle comes from the Hearst press.

Mr. Hearst's papers have justified the sinking of the Lusitania, have justified the German submarine policy, and have opposed lending money or sending munitions to the Allies. In view of these facts, we think Mr. Hearst's opposition to Mr. Childs as the representative of the Fusion movement for good government in this city last autumn is an honor to Mr. Childs, an honor which we are glad to share by saying that Mr. Childs is a Director of The Outlook Company. In our association with him we have always found him actively interested in every reasonable movement for good government, and constantly supporting The Outlook in taking its stand, without fear of personal consequences or without seeking the favor of any political personages, in behalf of honesty, sincerity, truth, and human rights in all forms of government, local, National, or international.

THE HAPPY EREMITE DEFENDS HIMSELF AGAINST A CHARGE OF FRAUD

The Literally-Minded Lady came to the Happy Eremite with the expression of one who is aggrieved.

"You call yourself a Happy Eremite!" she declared, indignantly.

He admitted it.

"I don't know whether you're happy or not. I hope you are. But, as for being an eremite, I think you're a fraud. An eremite is a hermit—"

"More or less."

"And a hermit is—"

"A little gray thing that lives in a cave."

"Exactly!" The Literally-Minded Lady shot out the word as though there were saltpeter behind it. "I had it all pictured out," she went on, with something that was almost a wail. "I didn't think you were a little gray thing and I didn't think you lived in a real cave. But I thought at least that you must live in some cabin in the mountains, like a man I once knew in New Hampshire; a young man, too, with a great curly red beard—"

"I could raise the beard if you insist," interposed the Happy Eremite. "Only you wouldn't like it. There are two spots right under the corners of my mouth that refuse to grow whiskers, and the effect when I try is as where the moth doth corrupt."

"I *don't* insist on a beard," cried the Lady, a little petulantly. "And I never said that I did, though the idea of a hermit shaving every day is, you must admit, grotesque. But that isn't my grievance. You call yourself an eremite. In other words, you deceive me and a few hundred thousand other people who read The Outlook into believing that you are a shy, unworldly person who lives withdrawn from the busy affairs of men; and here you have a stucco house on a hill outside one of our busiest and most worldly cities in the United States, a farm, a farmer, three cows, four pigs, and a hundred chickens, to say nothing at all of two children, a wife, and a cook whose name is Maria."

"I don't see what the cook's name has to do with it," interposed the Happy Eremite, mildly.

"It hasn't anything to do with it, but—"

"Besides," he added, with a wistful look, "she's gone."

"Serves you right!" cried the Lady. "But that isn't the whole of your deception. You gave me to understand that you were shy—and here you are speechifying in movie theaters and orating at banquets, organizing farmers, running committees. Withdrawn from the affairs of men! Twice a week at least you're in the city for twelve hours or more gravely settling the affairs of the Nation with bankers and brokers and lawyers and editors and publishers. You an eremite? You're a fraud!"

The Happy Eremite received this lecture with befitting humility. "You do seem to have a case against me," he said, slowly. "That is the trouble with the Jekyll-and-Hyde business. Sooner or later one is always found out, and then the idealistic people are shocked because one is so much Hyde, and the plain, practical people are peeved because one is so much Jekyll. I thought I could get away with it—I suppose every criminal does—and let my Jekyll friends think I was all Jekyll, and my Hyde friends think I was all Hyde. I realized the necessity of getting away with it. No one really imagines that a man can sincerely be both." He paused. "You see, you don't."

"What I object to," cried the Literally-Minded Lady, "is your calling yourself an eremite when you are just common or garden variety of 'hustler,' always rushing from place to place, always busy, always undertaking more than you can really do well. You're not an eremite," she added, indignantly; "you're a pinwheel."

The Lady's face was red. If the Happy Eremite had laughed, that might have eased the situation. But he did not laugh. He folded his hands between his knees and looked thoughtfully across his study to the spot where the leather-backed volumes of his Century Dictionary stood. He rose and drew forth Volume II—"D to Hoon."

"Here we are!" he exclaimed. "'Eremite—one who lives in a wilderness or in retirement.'"

"That is an accurate description of you, now isn't it?" cried the Lady, with fine sarcasm. "Modern plumbing, furnace, electric light, automobile, and six committee meetings a week."

"Wait," said the Happy Eremite. "We're not done yet. 'Specifically, in church history, in the earlier period, a Christian who, to escape persecution, fled to a solitary place, and there led a life of contemplation and asceticism.'" He closed the book slowly and shoved it back in its place.

"Well?" remarked the Lady, patiently. There was a pause. "You may be a Christian, though I have my doubts," she went on, not without asperity. "But as for persecution, I don't know what you are talking about."

He leaned forward, quite in earnest now, not joking at all. "Don't you see?" he said, softly. "I'm not really a fraud. It's just that, inside this body that you see and that shaves every morning, somewhat to your distress, are two persons—the one loving action, the other loving dreams. The one loves to mix among men, to be a part of great movements, to work, to fight, to accomplish tangible things. The other likes to sit in a corner of the hills away somewhere, away from people, away from noise, forgetting the terrible present, losing himself in what seems to him the only real world, the world of the imagination, dipping in baths of beauty to cleanse himself from the smoke and dust of the 'common day.' The fellow who loves action is constantly trying to choke the fellow who loves dreams, to burn him at the stake in the hot fire of practical busy-ness. And so the dream fellow, 'to escape persecution,' just as the dictionary says, flees 'to a solitary place,' and there leads 'a life of contemplation and asceticism.' I lead a double life, you see. One half of me is a hustler, gunning for 'results.' The other half of me is an eremite, sitting in the sun, just wondering about things."

"I see, I see," murmured the Literally-Minded Lady, and did not see at all. "Perhaps you are not a fraud. But the dictionary says something about asceticism."

"You don't know the servant problem in Mohican County," said the Happy Eremite.

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FACTS AND COUNSEL FOR THE AMERICAN GIRL

The great war is changing the position and thoughts of the American girl quite as much as the American boy. Our country needs its girls as prospective workers and mothers as it never needed them before. No recently published book gives better or more readable suggestions to the sisters of our boys at the front than "The American Girl" (the Macmillan Company, New York. $1). We are glad to pass along some of its sound advice to our readers in the following selections. The author, Winifred Buck, is also author of "Boys' Self-Governing Clubs," a standard authority on the subject, which has recently been translated into Japanese by the Government of Japan for use in the schools of that country.—THE EDITORS.

AND now, girls, I want to say that I do not believe any normal or healthy girl can fail to have an immense and unresting curiosity about matters of sex, and I believe that when you are fourteen or fifteen years old (perhaps in some cases when you are even younger) your curiosity should be satisfied. . . . If you are prudish, please remember that the same God who made our souls and minds designed and created the functions of our bodies. To think that *we* can invent some story about our bodily functions that would be more refined and pure than what he has designed seems to me the height of blasphemy.

There are more decent men than bad ones. But you can be on your guard with every one, particularly if there is any question of love-making. Keep tight hold of your heart (if that organ in your case happens to be of the affectionate variety), no matter how lonely you may be and how much you may long for affection.

A girl's boy friends are often, quite unconsciously of course, the cause of many an injury to a girl's health. . . . Mothers should really explain to their sons that once a month girls have to keep quiet. This knowledge only brings out the chivalry and sympathy that are deeply implanted in the nature of all nice boys.

Mothers should always give up their own pleasure for their child's welfare and their own welfare for their child's welfare, and sometimes, but not too often, their own pleasure for their child's pleasure, but never their own welfare for their child's pleasure.

Every generation has its own ideas about what is right and proper to do under all circumstances. Each generation adapts itself to the times in which it lives—to truth as it appears to it.

Perhaps one of the most striking differences between the point of view of good people of this generation and the last is in regard to this matter of sacrifice. The modern generation does not seek sacrifice out; they do not feel that there is a virtue in the sacrifice itself unless the end to be obtained is worth the sacrifice. But if the end *is* worth the sacrifice, modern people will meet this demand upon them just as proudly, as heroically, and as cheerfully as any of the old-time martyrs. The great war has proved this thousands of times.

Your husband should be your best friend. I say "friend" advisedly, although I believe that for the man you are going to marry you should feel a strong physical attraction, and that when you are with him you should feel no end of glamour, thrills, and other unfriendlike emotions. But unless in your mind's eye you can picture your future husband as your kindest, truest friend as well as the most fascinating companion, do not marry him.

A woman can nearly always visualize the future, and she has intuitions about character. Picture yourself ill in bed, your face drawn and haggard, all beauty gone. Then imagine the man you are thinking of as a husband as he comes into the room. Does his face light up with joy at the thought of your coming recovery, and with pity and tenderness for your suffering and weakness, or does he look repelled at the inevitable ugliness of your condition? . . . Children, the best gift life has to offer us, still prevent us from doing many of the things we long to do. The time and the money that you used to be able to devote to the making of clothes for yourself alone now must provide them for several people. The not very stimulating babble of the children now takes the place of the interesting talks and experiences of old days. With your mind's eye on the future, can you see your husband coming home filled with the desire to make life brighter for you, or does he look bored and rush to his lodge or club as soon as he can get away?

And can you see yourself as *his* best friend? *He* may be ill and ugly; *he* may become dull and poky. Are you going to care enough for him to be his best friend? Will you stand by him in his hour of trouble or illness; will you be cheerful, brave, and intelligent if he loses all his money; will you help him to develop his best characteristics, not nag him about his bad ones? And will you care enough for him to make the effort *not* to get dull or dowdy even if you are overworked in the home? I do not mean to say that I advise you to make a slave of yourself for any husband, nor do I want him to be a slave to you. For instance, let us suppose that he is the one who has become "poky," while you still love society and fun outside the home. There will be four courses open to you. You can give up all your own wishes and spend every evening at your own fireside with him; you can make a row, sacrifice his tastes and drag him out with you every night; you can let him go his way while you go yours; or, best of all, you can compromise by staying at home with him half the time, and gently, tactfully persuading him to go out with you occasionally.

The relation between husband and wife, if it is a happy one at all, is the most happy one in the world. It is well worth a great deal of effort to make it as perfect as it is possible to be made.

We, the women of America, cannot deny the fact that somehow we have made domestic service the most disliked of all the business professions for women. The average young American girl of not exceptional natural ability and not much education would rather work in a factory at six dollars a week and pay her board out of that than do housework in a home where she gets all her living expenses and can show a profit of at least twenty dollars every month. It is a great pity. If domestic service could be standardized, humanized, and yet made more businesslike and consequently more attractive to girls who must support themselves, more of them would choose it as a means of livelihood, thereby saving the health of many an overworked mother and forcing the shops and factories to pay their women better wages in order to attract enough of them to carry on their work. If employers made domestic science popular, more girls would take a domestic science course in school, and the taxpayers would be more willing to pay for such courses. Women well trained for domestic work would be able, when finally married, to run a home better than the average factory girl, who hardly knows a bean from a potato, a sheet from a tablecloth.

After your profession, trade, or craft is mastered, so far as school can teach you to master it, you will have another lesson to learn if you are going to succeed out in the world—the lesson of submerging your own opinions and expressing those of your employer. For this reason it is important for you to find out all that you can about the man or woman who offers you a position before you accept it. . . .

Competence is the first quality demanded, the habit of not bungling or hesitating but going straight to the point. Beyond this, an employer likes to have a certain respect paid to his idiosyncrasies. Probably they will seem silly to you, but he may be rather vain of them. The doubling or not doubling of a letter in some word may seem to him to be of sufficient importance to cause a wearisome recopying of a letter, while in the meantime the mail goes out. You should carry out these ideas amiably and without comment even to your co-workers. Criticism of your employer to your associates is in very poor taste.

The way to be good-looking physically is to be healthy, well developed, and amiable.

I think a look of intelligence is perhaps the best fundamental expression for a face. On that should be a layer of humor. On that a look of great kindness, and on top of that an expres-

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sion that suggests what, I believe, the modern girl calls "pep." The most unattractive expression is no expression at all—a kind of blank, cowlike appearance. Worry, bad temper, and discontent make very disagreeable lines on a face. The experience of genuine sorrow bravely borne only adds to the interest of a face on which are expressed intelligence, kindness, humor, and veracity.

Girls, have you ever stopped to think how much you consume? The almost constant time and thought of your parents, the services of friends, teachers, perhaps servants, tons of food, hundreds of articles of clothing, much space? What do you produce of equal value to what you consume? . . .

Unless you are singularly unfortunate, you ought to be able to produce a little more than you consume. Indeed, if the majority of people had not been doing that for the thousands, perhaps millions, of years the world has existed we should not be better off to-day than were our most remote ancestors.

You can be a producer in various ways, spiritual and physical. Unless you have a rare talent for one of the great arts, the best thing you can do for the world and for yourself is to marry and create children and that partly tangible, partly intangible thing called a home. If you do not marry, but still are supported by your father, you can be worth all you consume if you do gratuitous work for the benefit of the community. If you become that admirable person, the self-supporting woman, you can easily earn all you consume.

If you are going to marry on a small income, you will probably have to do a great deal of housework. Do you know how to cook, how to keep your house in order, how to systematize the housework so that it will not take all your time and strength? Do you know anything about buying, so that your money will go as far as possible, or anything about the utilization of the waste material of the household—paper, rags, bottles, scraps of food? If your husband is well off, you should know, in addition to the things enumerated above, how to manage your servants so that they will do the work of the house satisfactorily and yet will be contented in your employ.

It never seems to me quite straight of a girl to marry and undertake to run a house when she knows nothing about it and does not even take an intelligent interest in doing it well. . . . I have known people with plenty of money and a so-called "good" education in whose houses, when you looked below the surface, dirt, confusion, and even vermin prevailed everywhere. When such a condition of affairs exists, it is *always* the wife's fault, unless she is a serious invalid. . . .

I cannot deny that housework is very monotonous, but so is all work. Sometimes it is extremely uncongenial work to the women who have to perform it, but this much can be said in its favor: You are your own boss when you are doing it, and the more skill, science, and thrift you put into it the more interesting it is.

And now, you may say, how am I to learn all these useful things? If you live in or near a big city, you can attend a domestic science course in some school or college. In the smaller cities and villages such advantages may not exist. In that case I can only say that you must teach yourself. This you can do perfectly well if you will read, keep your eyes open, and develop your critical faculties.

For reading, subscribe to one or more of the women's magazines. . . .

A good exercise (and an amusing one also) is to set yourself some imaginary problem in housekeeping. Allow yourself, let us say, $50 with which to furnish a room. With the aid of catalogues, which the great mail order houses and big city department stores will gladly furnish you, you can easily select in imagination furniture that will come within the price limits you have set yourself. And what shall this furniture be? Do you want to spend all your spare time dusting it? No. Well, then, choose things with flat surfaces, simple, straight lines. Simple, plain things are more restful to live with, anyway, than things of meaningless elaboration. Choose beforehand some definite color scheme, and try to follow that out in your selection of rug, hangings, and covers. If you have to economize in something, try to use good judgment as to where you will economize. . . .

Women of independent means and leisure are making a wonderful record for themselves as unremunerated workers in the field of philanthropy and public service. . . . Women, volunteers, still without the vote in most of our States, are toiling to promote better legislation in all our States and in the Nation. Women are active in village improvement work and have done wonders in the last few years to make our country places more sanitary and more beautiful. . . .

I could fill a book if I were to record all the useful, civilizing things the unpaid woman is doing for the country.

If you should go to work while you are living at home, you ought to be able to lay up a good sum of money. . . . There is a real fascination about seeing the figures in your bank book gradually getting bigger and bigger. After you have a couple of hundred dollars, let us say, in the bank, you can wisely begin to save up for a more lucrative investment. . . .

Girls, I wish I could make you feel the real comfort of having a little income of your own—even if it is only ten dollars a year—that comes in regularly, rain or shine, sick or well. You can soon save it if you bend your mind to it.

Nowadays the best type of man likes to admire and even look up to the intellect of the girls he is attentive to. He is not afraid of the girl with a trained mind and a strong, active character. All right-thinking girls want to be attractive to men, of course, but those of this generation will not make this desire the sole object of their lives; nor, for the sake of attaining this attractiveness, will they willingly sacrifice the expression of their own tastes and talents. Remember, too, that a well-trained mind is not inconsistent with good looks, pretty clothes, graceful dancing, and pleasing manners.

Even Mary Lyon, that great New England teacher of nearly one hundred years ago, when the shadow of the gloomy Puritan theology was still dark upon her section of the United States, said: "God wants you to be happy; he made you to be happy." And, "You have no right to give up your happiness just because you are willing to do so."

If it is right for one person to work for the happiness of another person, it must be right for the latter to receive and enjoy this happiness.

Do not mistake pleasures or amusements for happiness; people who make them their object in life are the most bored, unhappy people in the world. Nevertheless, pleasure and amusements occupy a very important place in life.

With the modern self-starter and demountable rims any woman can run an automobile, as far as muscular strength is concerned. Her mind should work quickly and she should have decision of character. She should also have self-control enough to keep calm under trying or dangerous circumstances. If she has not these characteristics to start with, running an automobile will develop them. Perhaps it is unnecessary to say that they are characteristics which are useful not only in the auto but on many occasions of every-day life. It is said that many physicians recommend being an amateur chauffeur to nervous women who, if they once learn to conquer real dangers, will seldom worry about imaginary ones.

The old illogical idea that women were too frail to do anything out of doors, but were strong enough to bring ten children into the world, and do all the housework and dressmaking for this large family, does not receive much credence in these days.

A REQUEST

In The Outlook of February 27, 1918, we printed an editorial paragraph based on a letter from a lady living in a university town in the State of New York, in which she described the need in that town, even in school and university circles, of the right kind of information about France and the French people. We recommended certain books which ought to be read by intelligent men and women who want to know something about the real traits of our gallant allies. Unfortunately, we have lost the name and address of our correspondent, and we have received an interesting letter from a well-known Frenchman living in France who desires, as a result of that editorial, to get into communication with this lady. If this paragraph should fall under her eye, will she kindly send us her name and address?

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JAPAN, GERMANY, RUSSIA, AND THE ALLIES

AN AUTHORIZED INTERVIEW WITH COUNT MASATAKA TERAUCHI, PREMIER OF JAPAN, BY GREGORY MASON, OF THE OUTLOOK STAFF

"WHAT are the chances for an alliance between Japan and Germany?" I asked Count Masataka Terauchi, Premier of Japan.

"That," he replied, "will depend entirely on how the present war may end. It is impossible to predict the changes which the conclusion of this war may bring. If the exigencies of international relationships demand it, Japan, being unable to maintain a position of total isolation, may be induced to seek an ally in Germany; but, as far as I can judge from the existing condition of affairs, I see no such danger. In other words, I believe that Japan's relations with the Entente Allies will continue unaltered after the present war."

This remarkably frank statement by the Premier of Japan is an accurate presentation of certain new possibilities which concern the Allies, and America in particular. These new possibilities have been created by the collapse of Russia. That collapse has ended the remoteness of Japan. If Russia does not get back to her feet, the Far East will be next door to Europe. If Russia does not recover, then over Russia's remains Germany and Japan are destined to meet. Will they meet as rivals or as friends?

Whether the world will see a strong Russia again "will depend entirely on how the present war may end." Whether such a Russia would be autocratic or democratic "will depend entirely on how the present war may end." And whether "the exigencies of international relationships" will demand a Germano-Russo-Japanese alliance if a strong Russia be saved, or a Germano-Japanese alliance if Russia be lost, "will depend entirely on how the present war may end," and on a few other questions with which America is greatly concerned, since they relate to her policy toward Japan.

Whether there is to be a German-Japanese alliance opposed to the French and Anglo-Saxons or not depends very largely on America. But I am anticipating.

With three or four weeks to pass between the writing and the publication of this, and with history being made at a gallop, such an article must be written with a historical perspective. Before this can be published Japan may have sent an army into Siberia. But whether Japan intervenes in Russia or not, the following interview with the Premier of Japan will have interest as interpreting the frame of mind of Japan's leaders toward a problem and during a crisis which will have a place in history, whatever the future may bring forth. The events of the winter of 1917–18 in the Far East have been of exceeding consequence.

Since the first of the year Japan has been feverishly considering the new relationship which would arise between her and Germany if Russia should make peace and disintegrate. And since it became evident that the Bolsheviki were going to make peace, Japan has been on the point of undertaking armed intervention in Siberia.

Whether she does intervene or not, however, the effect gained by her restraint during the past month or two will not have been lost. The reaction in Russia toward Japanese intervention to-day or to-morrow would not be what it would have been yesterday. Japan and her allies have gained by her caution and patience; and that caution and forbearance have been largely Prime Minister Terauchi's.

That Japanese troops are not already well into Siberia as I write this is due mainly to three influences—the personality of Count Terauchi, the personality of Baron Goto, Minister for Home Affairs, and the opposition of the United States. Opposed to this alignment have been the forces favoring immediate intervention—Viscount Motono, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, the entire Japanese War Office, with most of the leading officers of the army and a good many of the navy, plus France, and to some extent England. France has been for it—both the public and the Government. The English Government, however, seems not to have finally committed itself, though a large section of British public opinion has been favoring Japanese intervention.

For the past four or five weeks the conflict between these two opposing views has been a delicate and momentous thing to watch. At first it seemed that the sentiment for intervention was irresistible, but it began to wane, and lately the non-interventionists have seemed to be gaining. But of course these are not irrevocably non-interventionists at all. Count Terauchi, Baron Goto, and, as I understand it, the American Government have not come out against Japanese intervention finally; they have merely pleaded for present caution, arguing that the time is not yet ripe, that the situation in Russia, grave as it is, is not yet grave enough to justify the risks of military intervention by Japan in the territory of an ally.

That is what I mean when I say that, whether Japan does now intervene or not, the effect of her restraint during the past four or five weeks will not have been lost. In case she does intervene Japan will find that her moral position has been greatly strengthened by the fact that she has been patient, that she has proved to the world her forbearance with Russia—in short, that she has proved her disinterestedness in advance.

To the formation of Japan's present policy toward Russia a veritable hodgepodge of elements contributed. She was entirely unprepared herself for gauging the meaning of such a spree of radicalism as Russia has been indulging in. Her statesmen had had intimate personal and political relations with Russians of the autocracy—men like Witte, Stolypin, and Sazonoff. But they knew none of the revolutionary group, and the reactionary Russian Ambassador, who has been held over in Tokyo from the days of Czardom, has not helped them to understand. Thus Japan has looked to her allies for interpretation of Russia, and has found them confused. France has looked at Russia almost entirely, it seems to me, from the standpoint of her own purely national interests. The French advocacy of Japanese intervention in Russia seems to have sprung from fear for the French investments in Russia, for surely France cannot believe that such a limited military expedition as Japan could send would appreciably relieve pressure on the western front. The warm democratic sympathy of Lafayette must be alive in France to-day, but it has been strangely inconspicuous in the attitude of France toward Russia.

England from the beginning has had a rather limited understanding of the Russian Revolution, yet England has seen Russia more clearly than France has. England has been too much inclined to accept the interpretation of Russia furnished by the British Tories and Imperialists. Lately, however, British Labor and the British Liberals have forced a saner view to the front. And England seems to have been a good deal influenced by President Wilson's judgment of events in Russia, which has been much more accurate than that of any other statesman, and remarkably accurate, considering the obstacle of distance and other difficult circumstances.

Then to the formation of Japan's policy toward Russia a number of conflicting internal currents are contributing. Japanese politics are the most difficult politics in the world to understand. I certainly do not pretend to understand them. But the present facts are that both the two major parties which contend for supremacy in the lower house of the Japanese Diet are opposed to intervention. Apparently their motive is a fear that intervention will increase the prestige of the present Ministry and lend it a new lease of life, whereas both the Seiyukai and Kenseikai parties are counting on an approaching dissolution of the Terauchi Ministry as a benefit to them. Similarly, elements in the bureaucracy opposed to Terauchi fear intervention. The Genro, or Elder Statesmen, are also urging the Government to go slow, but their advice is more likely to be based on a sincere judgment of what is best for the country. Moreover, Terauchi himself is inclined to avoid intervention,

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through an opinion which is the exact opposite of that held by the political parties. He fears that intervention will lead to some national calamity, and thus weaken, instead of strengthen, his position. The Japanese public has been excited by false or exaggerated reports of events in Russia, including the alleged massacres of Japanese by Germans and Bolsheviki; but, on the whole, the Japanese public has been about equally divided. There is no real public opinion in Japan.

The most marked clash on this issue has been that between Premier Terauchi and Home Minister Goto on one side, and the Foreign Minister and War Office on the other. The army has been tugging at its leash like a starved bulldog scenting meat. And Viscount Motono has been almost equally eager for seizing what seems to him a golden opportunity for Japan.

The long and short of it is that there are two Governments in Japan—one composed of the Premier and the Home Minister, the other composed of the Foreign Minister and the War Office. On the issue of Russian intervention the first has had the backing of the United States, and the second has been supported by France, while England and Italy have been hesitating, though apparently slightly in favor of intervention. The influence of Viscount Ishii, the new Ambassador to America, has strengthened the stand of the Premier and Home Minister. It is now quite apparent which of Japan's two Governments is the stronger, and there have lately been rumors that Viscount Motono is contemplating resignation.

Such are some of the stronger cross-currents through which Japan has had to steer her way during the past two or three months. To complicate matters, the question has been, not simply whether to intervene in Russia or not, but how to intervene if intervention is agreed upon. A good deal of the British sentiment for intervention has apparently been based on the assumption that British or American troops would co-operate in the expedition with the soldiers of Japan. American and French opinion has been more inclined to prefer having Japan go it alone, so far as active military operations are concerned, but with the Allies helping financially. After talking with many prominent Japanese, including several members of the Government, I have come to the conclusion that with the Japanese it is a question of intervening in Siberia alone or not intervening at all. Their pride is injured by the suggestion that Allied troops be sent to co-operate with them, and justifiably so, it seems to me.

The first question I put to the Premier when I saw him at his official residence recently related to this point. At that moment intervention was hanging in the balance, soon after Trotsky had signed the preliminary agreement of peace at Brest-Litovsk.

"Does Japan intend to intervene in Siberia?" I asked. "And, if so, would she prefer to act alone or in co-operation with her allies?"

Count Terauchi does not speak English, and Mr. Yusuke Tsurumi, the son-in-law of Baron Goto, had kindly volunteered to act as interpreter. Mr. Tsurumi not only speaks excellent English but writes it. He was the editor in charge of producing the authoritative "Official Guide to Eastern Asia," published by the Imperial Government Railways of Japan. Mr. Tsurumi understands the American point of view; he is an ardent friend of America and an admirer of President Wilson, whose election he urged in America during the last Presidential campaign. Through Mr. Tsurumi Count Terauchi replied:

"I have not as yet formed a definite opinion about this problem. Nor would it be of any practical use if I had made up my mind, because intervention cannot at once be put into practice. The opinions of the Allied nations must first be heard. Besides, we can hardly form an unerring estimate of the real situation in Russia. Though a treaty of peace has been signed between Germany and Russia, what concrete result may it bring? Will the Russian people continue to submit to the guidance of the Bolshevik Government? Even if the Bolshevik Government succeeds in getting rid of Russia's obligations toward her allies, how do we know that the Russian people's will is represented by that Government's conduct? Japan once waged war with Russia, but to-day there is between the two countries absolutely no ill feeling. At the outset of the present war, when Russia proposed to send her Siberian troops to the western front, our Government gladly consented to safeguard the peace of the Far East so as to enable Russia to deliver her utmost power on the western front, with no apprehension about the East. Thus the Japanese Government has good will for Russia and entertains deep sympathy for her in the deplorable complications which have arisen in Russia's internal administration since last year. So we by no means desire to make an enemy of Russia, even if Russia's condition should get from bad to worse. Though the Bolshevik Government should shake hands with Germany, yet there would be many Russians whose views are sound and reasonable and who regard us as their friend and ally, so that we should be loth to despatch troops thoughtlessly, and thereby make an enemy of the Russian people.

"What we fear deeply is the possible advent of the German influence in the East, and we will have to be prepared against possible emergencies, for Germany may push her influence too far eastward. But if Japan be obliged to take military action in Siberia, such action will be taken simply because of the necessity of maintaining the peace of the Orient, and will never mean aggression or territorial ambition on the part of Japan.

"As regards your second question, namely, as to whether Japan wants to act singly or in concert with other allies, I would say that Japan would want a co-operative action. If any of our allies should desire to participate in Japan's military expedition, Japan would be only too pleased to welcome such participation and assistance, but we fear that such participation would be impossible now. Great Britain and France are concentrating all their power on the western fronts, so that they will have no surplus strength to spare for an expedition to the Far East. As to the United States, she is also doing her best in lending her man power to France and in otherwise working for victory, and we fear it will not be very easy for her to send very many troops to Siberia."

"Then in what manner would you have the United States help you?" I asked.

"In case Japan is to make a co-operative move into Siberia," said the Premier, "she will desire every possible assistance you can render. The material and financial help which the United States can afford us is precisely what Japan will need."

Count Terauchi surprised me by the considerable amount of animation he put into his discourse. His usual expression is a cold inscrutability which a professional gambler might envy. He seldom betrays emotion in his face, and behind that mask he makes his plans and maps his courses, unmoved by praise or hostile criticism. Yet, despite his stony exterior, he is deeply emotional, and weeps easily. He is very sincere and loyal and patriotic and kind. His bad points are said to be narrow-mindedness and a lack of ideals. He is a frank materialist. And he is reputed to be very much afraid of Socialism. Co-operation between such a man and a man like Trotsky is hard to conceive. So I asked him: "Supposing that Japan intervenes in Siberia and that the Bolshevik Government, if still in power, should show a willingness to accept Japanese co-operation in restoring order, would Japan help the Bolsheviki to re-establish a strong state?"

He did not answer directly, but said:

"As I have already said, Japan bears every good will toward Russia, and in this war has been supplying her with arms and munitions to help her win victory. We had hoped with all our heart for Russian victory. But, unfortunately, in March of last year Russia was plunged into the vortex of revolution, and from it resulted the unexpected Kerensky Cabinet, which has since been replaced by the Lenine Ministry, which we see now signing peace with Germany. For all that, we still believe that a great many Russians are influenced by a rational faith in the recuperation of their country and in the principles of humanity, and therefore our sympathy for Russia remains unchanged. It is our belief that Russia will regain her national footing, which she seems to have lost for the time being. And when she does, it is necessary, in the interest of Japan, and Japan's allies too, that Russia should be protected to the best of our ability. For Japan, in particular, it is very desirable that Russia should lie between Japan and Germany; so we will not stint our aid to her, but will give her all possible help. We feel sincerely sorry for Russia—sorry that so great and powerful a nation as she

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should have come to such an indescribable predicament in consequence of revolution."

"Well, suppose the war should end with Germany in possession of the Russian Baltic provinces," I asked, "and with Japan occupying eastern Siberia as a result of Japanese intervention. What, Count Terauchi, would Japan think of the constitution of a new and smaller Russia, established on the territory lying mainly between Moscow and Irkutsk?"

"It is Japan's sincere hope," replied the Premier, "that Russia should be reborn into a strong, well-ordered state. We believe that the existence of Russia as an independent nation will constitute an effective barrier against the encroachment of German influence toward the East, and therefore will be a great factor toward promoting the peace of the Orient and of the whole world. That is why we strongly desire that Russia should continue her national life forever, even though she were to become in territory a smaller country."

The Premier touched a button and a "boy" brought in tea. I recognized the "boy" (he has six children) as one who had worked for me and who had been discharged. His glance at me was full of dignified scorn, as if to say: "Ah, you see how the gods have regarded your injustice to me. I have exchanged a plebeian for a Prime Minister."

As Count Terauchi sipped tea and smoked he asked how I thought the Allies would regard such a buffer Russian state between Germany and Japan. He seemed much interested in this. As the tea warmed him he nodded his head and smiled. Then, with his high cheek-bones, narrow eyes, arched eyebrows, and high bald head, he looked like a fine old Mongolian monarch, some chieftain of ancient China. His high-pointed crown is his most noticeable physical characteristic, and is accentuated by hostile cartoonists till it looks like the head of Fukurokusin, one of the Seven Gods of Good Luck worshiped in Japan, whose "dome" is a yard high. This tall cranium and his mask-like countenance give Terauchi an appearance of dignity and shrewdness which is indicative of his real character. I have seldom seen such a high head, unless it be that of Francisco Villa. [Mr. Mason made two visits to Mexico for The Outlook in 1914 and 1916, and personally interviewed both Villa and Carranza. —THE EDITORS.]

Terauchi's friends call him the "Kitchener of Japan." He is like the late "K. of K." in that he combines great military ability with high administrative genius; he is like Kitchener in his solemnity of face and in his reputed dislike for women. Also like Kitchener, Terauchi began at the bottom of the ladder and has been a War Minister and a great colonial administrator. Terauchi's work as Governor-General of Korea is compared to that of Kitchener in Africa and India.

Terauchi is a stickler for discipline. All this time that we had been talking poor Mr. Tsurumi had been standing, and he remained standing throughout the interview, which lasted an hour and a quarter. He told me afterwards that he had expected Count Terauchi would ask him to sit down, but the stern old soldier did not do it. However, as Count Terauchi considers attention to discipline the highest trait in a man, Mr. Tsurumi's suffering may be rewarded.

I asked the Premier how far into Siberia Japan would go in case she intervened, and whether she would be prepared to penetrate European Russia if strong German resistance should be encountered. He said: "Your question touches a strategic problem. You must understand that you cannot extend the theaters of war to indefinite lengths. There is a limit to Japan's military power, and, besides, Japanese military strength is established on purely defensive principles, so that it is impossible for us to undertake responsibility for such extensive fronts. As we know it to be impossible to get reinforcements of half a million or one million troops from America, Great Britain, and France to fight in Russia, we could not hope to advance so far as European Russia. The best policy in war is to fight nearer home, dealing with an enemy who has come a long way into unfamiliar places. It would be difficult to predetermine how far we should go."

"Count Terauchi, you may permit me to ask a very bold, straightforward question," I said, "for I should like to dispel the misunderstanding that is prevailing among certain sections of Americans. Now that the Berlin-Bagdad dream has been shattered, certain German newspapers have begun to talk of a Berlin-Tokyo connection through Russia. Some Americans are possessed of the opinion that there is a possibility of Japan's forming an alliance with Germany after the war, if the conclusion of the present war should favor such possibility. What is your Excellency's opinion about this?"

"That will depend entirely on how the present war may end," said General Terauchi. "It is impossible to predict the changes which the conclusion of this war may bring. If the exigencies of the international relationships demand it, Japan, being unable to maintain a position of total isolation, may be induced to seek an ally in Germany; but, as far as I can judge from the existing condition of affairs, I see no such danger. In other words, I believe that Japan's relations with the Entente Allies will continue unaltered after the present war. Last winter I was asked by a certain American gentleman whether there was any danger for the future of American-Japanese friendship, when I did my best to explain the situation. If the United States should take such a step as would endanger the independence of China, Japan could not of course look on idly; but it is clear that the United States will never do anything of the kind. Therefore there is no fear of the American-Japanese friendship being in any way threatened. I was born in the year following the arrival of Commodore Perry in Japan; the memorable event was soon followed by the Harris Treaty, which opened Japan to the intercourse of the world. Had Commodore Perry then fired guns on Japan, there might long have remained feelings of enmity in the bosoms of the Japanese; but from beginning to end he adhered to the principles of justice and humanity in his advice as to the opening of Japan. There were some far-sighted men in Japan who saw real advantage in following his advice, and the result was as fortunate as could be desired. Thus from the very beginning of Japan's intercourse with America she was our benefactor, not our enemy. Years have passed since then, but there is no reason to suspect any change in the cordiality of the neighborly relations. It is true that Japan has a little military strength, but that she should send her army across the Pacific and land it in America is quite impossible; and I presume it would be very difficult for the United States to do the same against Japan. I believe there is no reason to anticipate war between the two countries. What possible harm can there be to have Japan developing on this side of the Pacific and the United States growing on the other side? The possibility of Japan and America breaking off into war has never for a moment entered my mind. And if you ask what is the best way to maintain in perpetuity this cordial American-Japanese friendship, I would say, let us go on in the same manner as we have been doing during the past sixty years."

"I would like to ask a question bearing on Japan's future, your Excellency," I said, taking up the thread of conversation. "The Anglo-Saxon peoples are to-day feeling a strong liberal idealism. Perhaps there are a good many Anglo-Saxons now who feel that their race has already got about all the territory it needs for the development of its interests, particularly on the Pacific, where the Anglo-Saxons have most of the Pacific coast of North America, Hawaii, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and footholds in China. On the other hand, intelligent Americans and Britons are beginning to realize that a country which is growing as rapidly as Japan, and which has proved its right to be ranked as a civilized nation, ought not to be denied the privilege of normal expansion. Japan's population is outgrowing her territory. Where will she find an outlet? A Japanese magazine writer has recently suggested that Japan might make an arrangement with France by which Japan would take over part or all of French Indo-China. Other Japanese have mentioned the possibility of extending Japan's territory northward. Now, America desires the preservation of the territorial integrity of China, but intelligent Americans would not begrudge Japan an accession of territory somewhere else if it could be arranged justly. It has been suggested that the war might end with Germany holding the Baltic provinces of Russia, France regaining Alsace-Lorraine, and France making an arrangement with Japan by which Japan would get French Indo-China. Quite apart from any allusion to the present crisis in Siberia, toward which the world knows Japan is disinterested, which would Japan prefer as a colony to absorb some of her growing population—a piece of land in such a northern region

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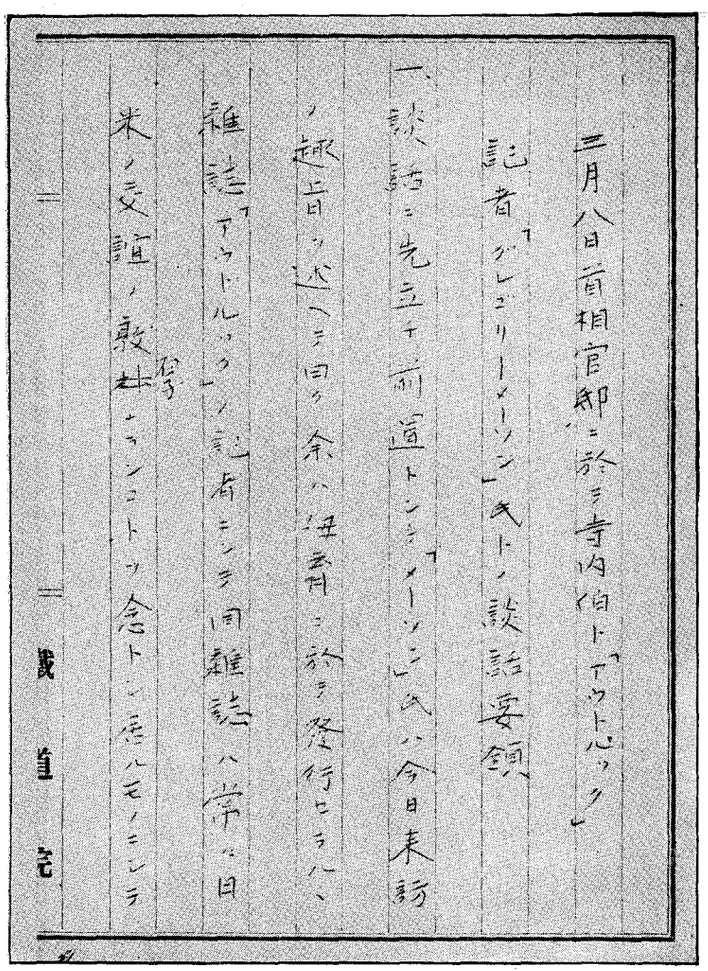
as Siberia or a colony in the south, such as French Indo-China?"

"Japan is increasing in her population at the rate of about half a million a year," replied the Premier, "and it is indeed a problem that we should well consider; but it is not likely that we shall be pressed for the lack of land to live in during ten or fifteen years to come. For there is still much room in Chosen and also in Hokkaido which can be used for our colonization. Manchuria, though it is not part of Japan's territory, can relieve much of our surplus population. The Japanese people do not take kindly to the idea of emigration, because they have long been used to the mild climate at home, and dislike both the torrid and arctic regions. Neither freezing Siberia nor the scorching south is very tempting to the Japanese. As to any questions depending on the disposal of Alsace-Lorraine, they must await the decision of military power."

Here Count Terauchi brought the interview to an end, remarking that he was overdue at the Diet. He shook hands with his left hand, for his right has been of little use since his right arm was wounded in the Saigon Rebellion forty years ago.

At the beginning of our conversation the Premier had remarked that he was not speaking for publication. When asked to relent, he said that he would get Mr. Tsurumi to write out his recollection of what had been said and submit it to him in Japanese. Then, if it met with his approval, it would be given to me and translated. This was done. Mr. Tsurumi's remembrance of the conversation proved almost dictographic. He wrote it out in question and answer form like a catechism and submitted it to the Premier. After reading it Count Terauchi submitted it for the consideration of the Foreign Minister and of the Minister for Home Affairs. When they had approved it,



THE FIRST PAGE OF THE JAPANESE MANUSCRIPT OF MR. MASON'S INTERVIEW WITH PREMIER TERAUCHI

This manuscript was forwarded to The Outlook by Mr. Mason with his own article

he went through it all again—some twenty-two pages of Japanese script—making a change here and there. These changes indicated a regard for the most careful use of language, as, for instance, when he changed the word "tactical" to "strategic." The report of the interview was then translated by a gentleman approved by Mr. Tsurumi. All the remarks of the Premier quoted above are in the exact phrasing of this authoritative transcribing. Thus they are as "official" as they could be.

As I understand them, the salient points brought out in my interview with Premier Terauchi are these:

First, unless the German menace to the Far East through Russia grows considerably stronger than it is at this writing, Japan will not intervene in Siberia except with the warm approval and with the assurance of the economic support of all her allies. The advice of caution given by the Japanese Ambassador to Petrograd, who has just come out of Russia, strengthens the party which is for extreme prudence in the question of intervention.

Second, if Japan does intervene, she would prefer to have no foreign troops co-operating, except, perhaps, small detachments of Chinese, although she would consent to Allied co-operation if the Allies insist. But she would want, and would need, generous assistance in the form of munitions and money from Great Britain and America.

Third, if Japan does intervene, she will have no intention of going beyond a limited objective, probably Irkutsk, which she would approach over both the Siberian and Amur Railways. Japan, in short, has no desire to meet the organized armed forces of Germany, for which she has a most wholesome respect. Despite the possible wording of her explanations, her intervention would be undertaken almost solely to stop the spread of anarchy and German intrigue toward the Far East; that is, it would be purely a measure of national self-defense for Japan. Thus it would probably have very little effect toward relieving the pressure of German arms on the west front.

Fourth, Japan is much exercised over the definition of her future relations with Russia and Germany. Her present relations with Russia are handicapped by great lack of understanding on the part of Japan. The interviews just now being given out by the Japanese Ambassador to Russia on his return home are almost the first public utterances made by a Japanese public man indicating any understanding of the fact that the radicalism and liberalism of Russia are genuine, widespread, and ineradicable, and that they are not merely the effusions of a few "professional agitators." Japan's misunderstanding of Russia has been aided by the fact that Reuter, the British news service, has fed the Japanese public with cabled excerpts of the Russian views of the Tory newspapers of England like the London "Times" and the London "Observer," and has noticeably not given the Japanese a fair glimpse of the opinion on this issue held by British labor and British liberalism, the elements which are really running the war in England. More than once the doubtless well-intended work of the Reuter service has actually tended to hinder the winning of the war for democracy.

America, on the other hand, has helped to give Japan a better understanding of Russia than Japan was apparently able to get for herself. Unquestionably, the United States, for all the misconceptions nursed by *its* tories, has understood radical Russia better than any other ally of Russia. Moreover, America's views are having great weight with Japan. There is an unmistakable and highly interesting drift in Japanese official opinion to-day. This is an inclination toward the view that the value of the Anglo-Japanese alliance has been nearly exhausted by Japan, and that a more valuable ally for the Island Empire will be Germany or America. In other words, for her own peculiar purposes Japan is inclining to consider both Germany and America greater Powers than Great Britain. The Japanese seem to feel that England will be so exhausted by the war and so engrossed with making good the economic drain on her own resources that she will have little support to lend Japan's programme in the Far East. There is also an opinion that the British Empire will break into a flexible group of nations after the war.

On the other hand, Japan is impressed by the growing military and economic power of the United States, although she does make a proper discount for the usual American boasting.

As for Germany, Japan is feeling that the war will probably leave the Germans in a position of great strength, and that this strength will seek development either through central

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Asia toward India or through Siberia toward the Far East. Japan fears Germany, and this means that she would be inclined to make an arrangement with Germany for her own protection unless she believed that it would benefit her more to ally herself with another Power.

Well, America is the most formidable rival of Germany for Japan's hand. It will do no good, however, for Americans to scold Japan for tendencies toward Prussianism such as undoubtedly exist in these islands Americans will have to show Japan that Prussianism doesn't pay by helping to beat Germany; and by the efficiency of their own conduct of the war, as well as by helping to secure a workable democratic régime in Russia, Americans can prove to Japan that democracy is not to be dreaded as a sort of national tuberculosis.

The forbearance toward the question of mobilization in Siberia shown by the Government, headed by the professional soldier Terauchi, is a great testimonial to the extent of America's influence with Japan. America is vastly indebted to Japan for this. Incidentally, by this forbearance Japan has augmented her stock of good will among the other nations. Good will is just as important to a nation as to a corporation, and Japan's supply of it has been rather thin, owing to a few historic blunders, such as the presentation of the famous Twenty-one Demands on China.

In return for Japan's consideration of the American view about Russia the United States must scrupulously recognize the special position and interests of Japan in the Far East, and must actively aid the proper and orderly development of Japan. America has a great opportunity to guard real democracy in Russia and to encourage it in Japan, to help Japan and Russia understand each other, and to help them both check the menace of Prussia. To accomplish these ends the United States must be in performance as well as in after-dinner promises a true friend of both Japan and Russia. That is the unmistakable way to end the Kaiser's dream of "Berlin-Petrograd-Tokyo."

Tokyo, March 22.

THE CONVICTION OF A SKEPTIC

BY MARY DEWHURST

A STRANGER in Geneva, New York, notices first the massive gray-stone Methodist church, which dominates the main street and throws its English Gothic tower skyward with a valiant air. It was built by working people, and so recklessly built that the congregation found itself saddled with a building debt of $82,000, a weekly budget of $230, and an income of less than one hundred dollars. In two years the debt has been cut to $49,000, and the weekly income is nearly $300. The church has more than a thousand members, of whom 350 are "tithers." A tither is a person who sets aside one-tenth of his income for Christian activities. These Geneva Methodist tithers are doing more than pay for their church; they are pioneers in a financial policy which bids fair to spread through Methodism.

When the Centenary Commission of the Methodist Church, the organization which is preparing for the centenary of its Home and Foreign Missions, asked me to go to Geneva to write the history of its Tithing and Stewardship Movement, I was scarcely enthusiastic. I doubted if I would find much of a "story," and, with war-giving and war-saving in mind, I doubted if I would be sympathetic toward what I found.

Nevertheless I was curious to talk to these people who found it possible to give so much in the face of rising prices, war charities, and added taxes. How did they do it?

My directions led me first to the town's principal shoe store, where I asked for Mr. Cassatt.

"We tithers," he said, proudly, turning to me after waiting on a customer, "don't feel that we begin to *give* until after we have returned our tenth to the storehouse. I've already paid in $700 on the church debt, and have pledged a thousand more in ten years. By that time I hope to wipe off the $2,500 mortgage on my own home."

I tried him with a mean attack.

"Doesn't your wife ever tell you that you could own your own house sooner if you didn't pay so much on the church?"

"No, she doesn't. She's not that kind," he answered, promptly. Humiliated, I went elsewhere to seek understanding.

Mrs. Silver, a young and pretty widow, lives with her four children in a shabby little house overlooking the big frozen lake. She was introduced to me as one who had just joined the Tithers' Association and wanted to give one-tenth of the dollar a day she earned by sewing bags for the near-by flour-mill.

"I guess I can give one bag and trust Him to stretch the other nine," she explained. When I spoke of fuel and food and clothes, she agreed, smilingly, but said:

"There's always money spent foolishly which could be better spent by the Lord, and it ain't right to rob him of what's his."

I went on down the frosty lake road to the home of Mrs. Silver's neighbor, Mrs. Hardy.

"What do I think of tithing?" she repeated, as she brought me into the neat, warm kitchen. "Why, if I didn't tithe I'd be picked as clean as a bird. I've got to tithe to keep goin'."

"But what does your husband say about it?"

"My husband is a drinkin' man, as I guess you've heard. He says I sha'n't touch a cent of his money, so I take a tenth of what is left after I've paid for food and rent; sometimes it's only five cents, sometimes it's ten, but whatever it is it don't belong to me."

When I returned to the church, I found a meeting of a group of ministers from near-by parishes, gathered to learn the technique of putting tithing before their congregations. There were sixteen, most of them young fellows with bluff ways and honest faces. They came from farming communities and had the hard task of persuading the New York farmer that a tenth of his produce did not belong to him. I was amused at the naïve way they ran business and religion together, and at first I was genuinely shocked at the familiar way in which they addressed the Deity. Their homely speech seemed blasphemous until I grasped the fact that no disrespect was intended and that they but put into practical expression the philosophy of pantheism.

"A man looks up into Jesus' face and says, 'Lord, I surrender; all to thee I owe.' And the Lord says, 'If you mean business, what are you going to give?'"

"The Lord's no fool. We get our business sense from him, along with every other good thing."

"Why wouldn't the Lord take care of the tither? He knows he gets his money that way to carry on his work. If he owns a tenth of a business, he'll see that it don't suffer."

When they knelt for prayer, I found I liked their "Amens" and "Yes, Lords," and "Hallelujahs" chiming across the speaker's invocation. It all had a lively sense of intercession and emotional validity.

Later, some of them told of their experiences, especially of the rewards reserved for those who clung to their stewardship.

"You'll never find a tither in the poorhouse," one said, and another, "I'm a parson on six hundred a year; and I found I had to tithe to get out of debt."

One told of a man in Syracuse who tithed regularly when the tenth was only ten dollars a month; he prospered until it grew to a hundred dollars. This looked too big to relinquish, so he gave up the practice. Disaster followed, until he was brought to poverty and humility. He began tithing again, and now he is on his feet financially and spiritually.

"I want you to hear the story of Mrs. Gordan," said one young minister. "She has a masterful, loud-spoken way about her, which made some of us in the church think she ruled the house. I guess this story shows who is master. She told it to me last night after prayer-meeting.

"'"Gordan," I says to my husband, "this week you'll have to

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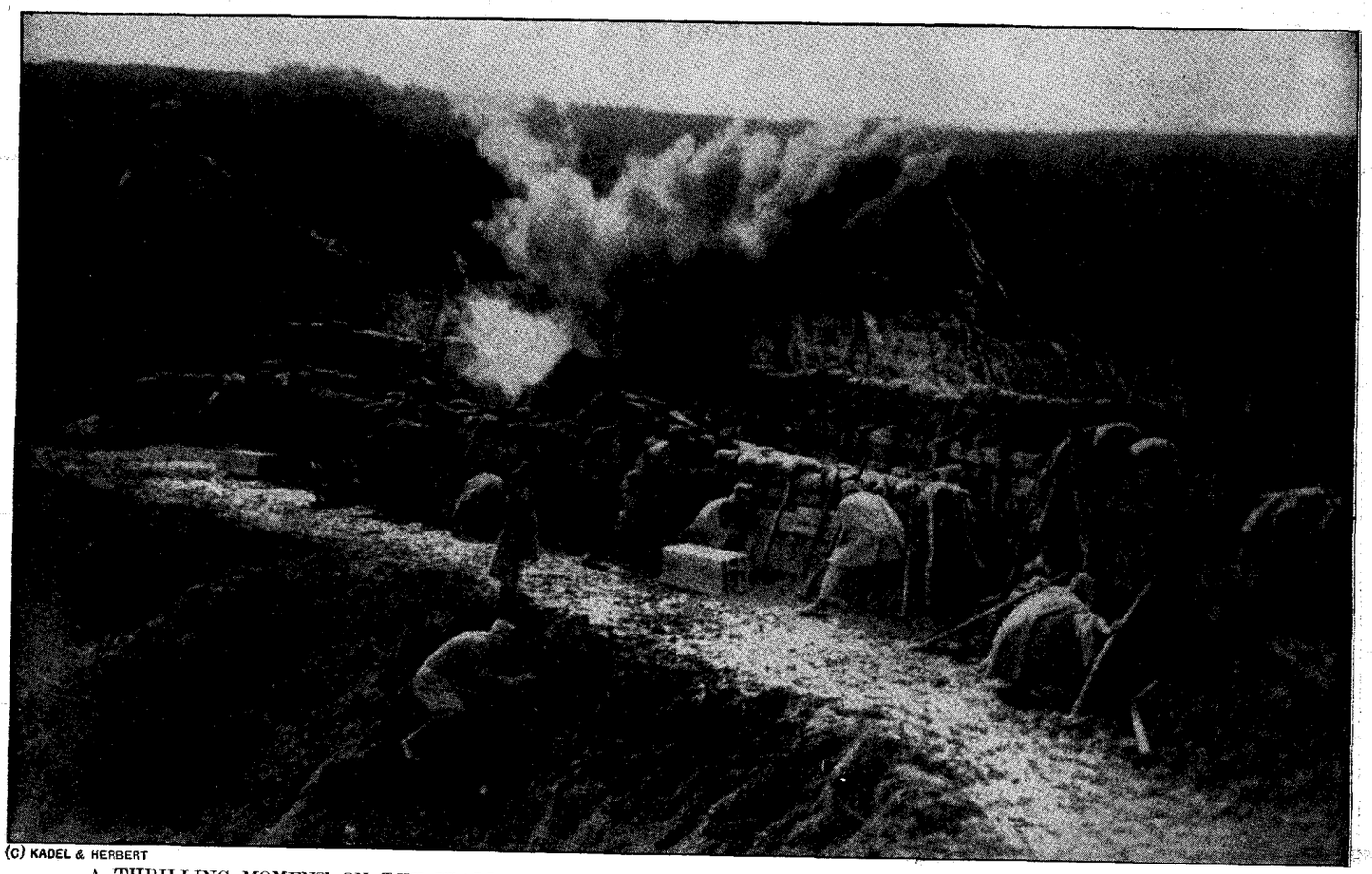
CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED

CENTRAL NEWS SERVICE

A SHELL-TORN SECTION OF MESSINES RIDGE, ONE OF THE MOST FIERCELY CONTESTED STRATEGIC POINTS OF THE GREAT BATTLEFIELD IN NORTHERN FRANCE



(C) KADEL & HERBERT

A THRILLING MOMENT ON THE ITALIAN FRONT—AN AUSTRIAN SHELL BURSTING OVER AN ITALIAN TRENCH

The Italian soldiers are seen crouching low to escape the flying fragments

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BAIN NEWS SERVICE

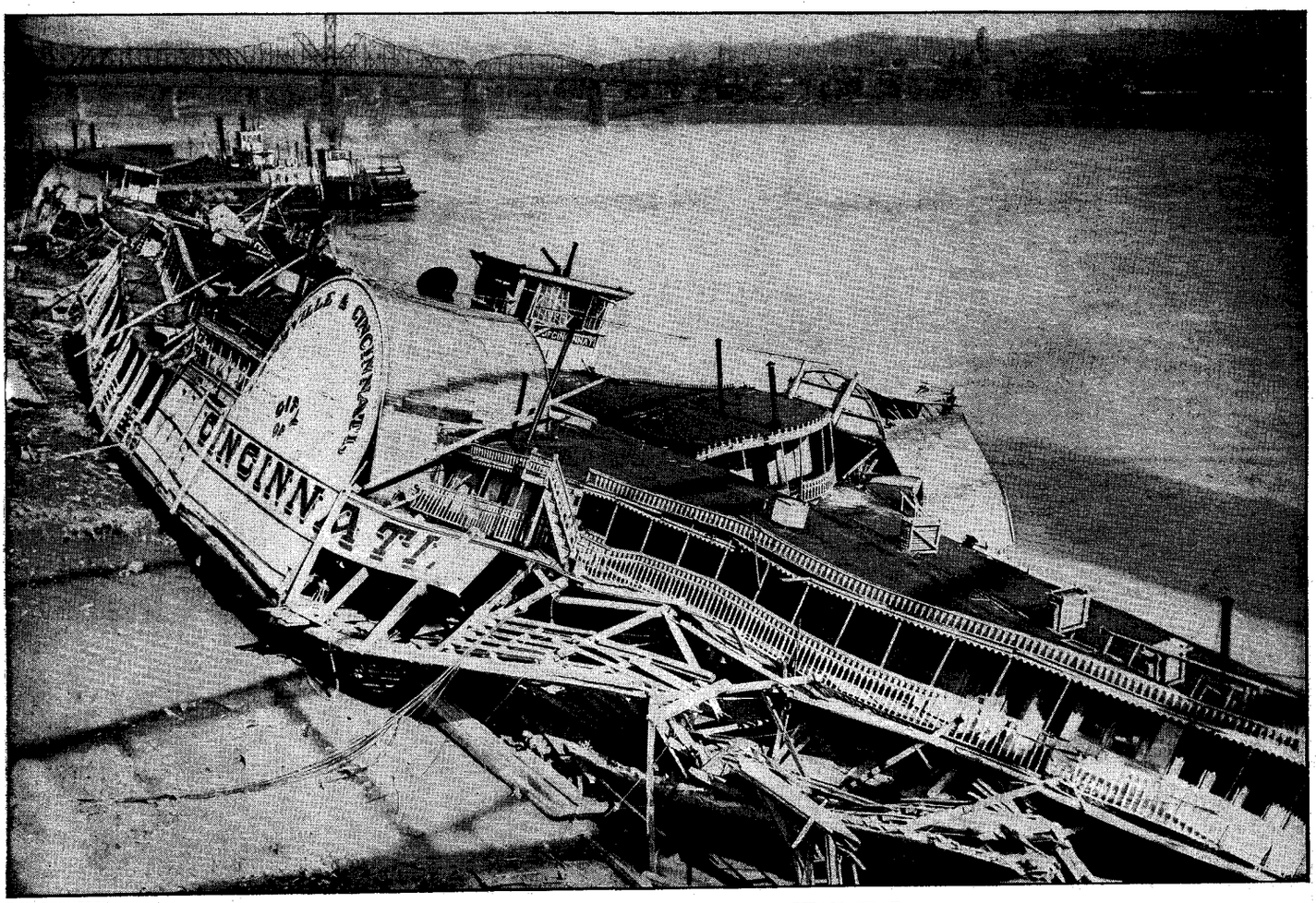
READY TO START THE DRIVE FOR MORE VEGETABLES

(C) UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

RAISING THE WAR GARDEN FLAG

THE "WAR GARDEN" MOVEMENT

The above pictures were taken in Bryant Park, New York City, and the scenes are typical of a widespread movement to turn every available vacant space throughout the country to account in increasing the Nation's supply of vegetables this season



PAUL THOMPSON

PEACE HATH ITS VICTIMS NO LESS THAN WAR

The wreck of this fine steamer is said to be due indirectly to the severity of the past winter. When the ice in the Ohio River began to break up, she was left high and dry, her hull smashed and her timbers broken. With four other vessels she lies a complete wreck near Cincinnati. This steamer is reported to have cost $175,000, and to have been the fastest passenger and freight steamboat on the Ohio River. A chain of dams to control the waters of the Ohio and so prevent such damage has been started but is still incomplete

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WESTERN NEWSPAPER UNION

COUNT TERAUCHI, JAPAN'S PRIME MINISTER

See the authorized interview with Count Terauchi by Gregory Mason elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook

UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

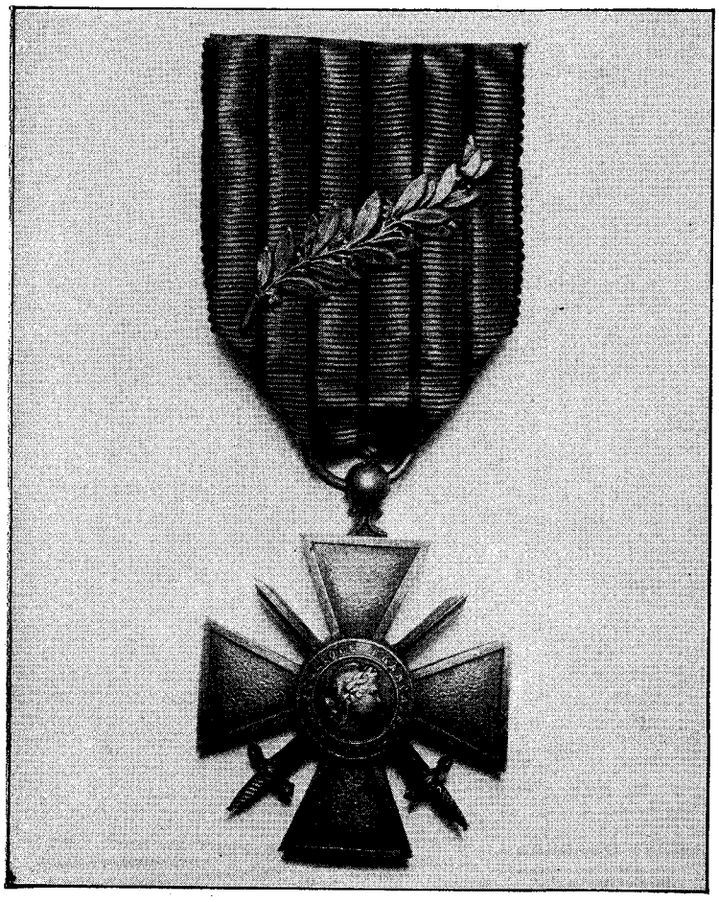
GENERAL SIR HERBERT PLUMER

Characterized by Lloyd George during the present fighting as "that gallant old General, one of the doughtiest warriors this country has"

(C) UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

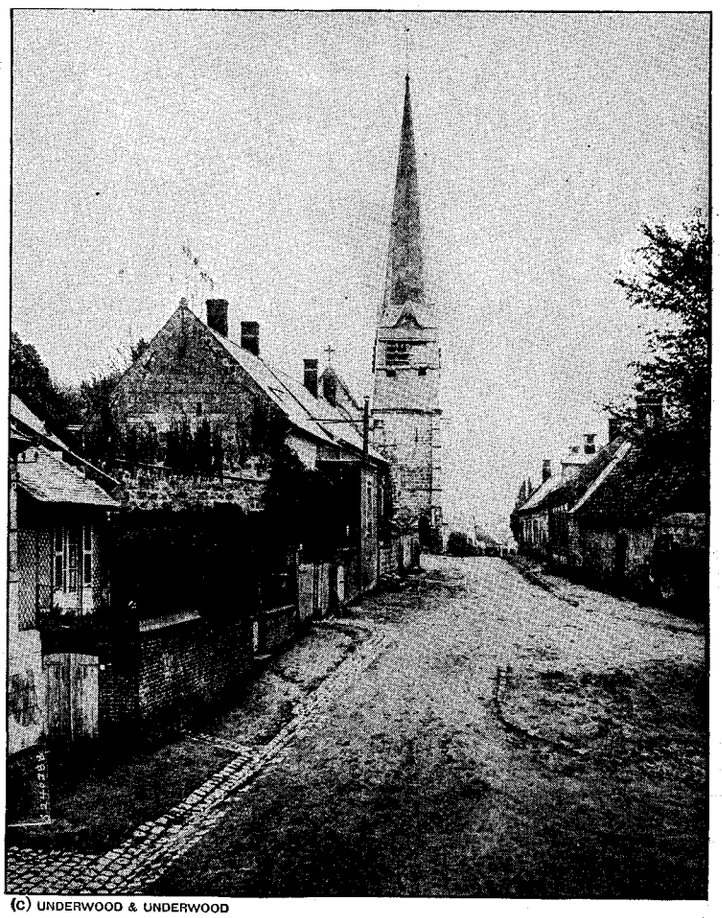
CHARLES M. SCHWAB

As Director-General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation Mr. Schwab will have a task worthy of his great business abilities



THE FRENCH CROIX DE GUERRE (CROSS OF WAR)

This decoration, conferred for signal bravery on the battlefield, has already been won by several American soldiers



(C) UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

BAILLEUL, A STRATEGIC POINT CAPTURED BY THE GERMANS IN THE GREAT BATTLE

This view shows the principal street of this picturesque village, with the church, before the bombardment and the repeated attacks which finally forced the British retirement

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take your tithe money or go hungry. There's nothing in the house to eat, and there's no money to buy anything."

"'"Wife," he says, "I guess we'll go hungry."

"'"But, husband, the Lord means you to work, and you can't work if you don't eat."

"'"Have we enough to buy bread?" he asks.

"'"Yes, there's enough for bread and maybe butter, and there are some potatoes left from that bushel last week, but that's all there is."

"'"All right; this week we'll eat bread and butter and potatoes, but we ain't a-goin' to touch the Lord's money."

"'And just the next day the postman brought us a letter, and in it was five dollars that we had lent two years before and given up for a bad debt.'"

But the best story came from Syracuse, where a manufacturing concern has put the tithe into its articles of incorporation. It is a business for making dish-cloths, and has five directors, four of them brothers; they employ about seventy-five people. There is a clause in their constitution that ten per cent of the profits must go for "Kingdom work" before any dividends are paid. The business prospered, and the directors wanted to expand with new machinery and additional capital. They went to the bank and asked to borrow $25,000. The president of the bank knew the concern, thought it a good proposition, and offered to float their bonds. The bank's lawyer went over the company's books and papers, found the tithing clause in the articles of incorporation, and called a halt. He pointed out that interest on bonds is always a first lien on a company's income; that here there was some other claim ahead of interest, and he advised that the articles of incorporation be amended to strike out this absurd clause before money could be safely loaned.

When the directors learned of this, they held a prayer-meeting to decide what they should do. After prayer and hymns a secret vote was taken as to whether the offending clause should be cast forth. "Yes" meant that they would yield to the bank. "No" that they would retain the provision. On counting the votes there were five "Noes" in the ballot-box, and the company has gone on with its old machinery and its old capitalization, but doing the biggest business of its experience.

As I took the train for New York I found myself believing the unbelievable. I had not met any one who wanted to give up tithing. I could not make any one admit that it was irksome or a hardship. In the past four years, all over the world, sacrifices for patriotism have become commonplaces. But we had grown a long way from the pains and privations of the early Christians. We had forgotten the blood of the martyrs. It might be that their seed was quickening and a new spirit about to appear. Perhaps the indictment of Christianity that many had felt this war to be might yet be quashed and the Church return to its old-time leadership through the hard road of sacrifice and self-denial.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

TRIUMPHING CHRISTIANITY

A MINISTER recently told a friend of mine that he had decided in his preaching to pay no attention to the war; to confine himself wholly to the Old Gospel. I wonder if he knows what the Old Gospel is.

The ancient Hebrews called themselves a peculiar people. One of their peculiarities was that they looked forward, not backward, for their Golden Age. They believed that a time was coming when poverty would be abolished, when property would be so equably distributed that every man could sit under his own vine and fig tree, when education would be universal so that no man would need to teach his neighbor, when despotism would cease because the laws of God would be accepted by mankind and just law would need no other enforcement than the sanctions of religion, when wars would end and the implements of war would be converted into instruments of industry, when family dissensions would cease and the hearts of the fathers would be turned to the children and the hearts of the children would be turned to the fathers.

The theme of Jesus' ministry was this kingdom of God. In his first published sermon, delivered in the synagogue at Nazareth, he read one of the ancient prophecies of this Golden Age, and told the congregation he had come to fulfill it. At the end of his life, in the trial before Caiaphas, he was put upon the stand; in violation of the Jewish law the oath was administered to him, and under the solemn sanction of that oath he reaffirmed his mission, and in a different form repeated that affirmation in the subsequent trial before Pilate. In the fulfillment of that mission he never set aside the social teachings of the prophets or substituted for their glad tidings of a Golden Age any other. On the contrary, he emphasized their social teachings. They had denounced injustice and inhumanity and repeatedly declared that no forms or ceremonies could take the place of doing justly and loving mercy. Jesus denounced injustice and inhumanity with even greater vigor, and reaffirmed the truth that righteousness and mercy are greater than temple services. And he taught his disciples to pray, "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done *on earth* as it is in heaven."

But in emphasizing the teachings of the prophets he cleared away misapprehensions which had grown up about those teachings and obscured their real meaning.

Early in his ministry he called twelve friends about him to be his companions, to learn his principles, imbibe his spirit, and proclaim to others the glad tidings which they had received from him. On the occasion of their consecration to this ministry he preached what may be called a dedication sermon. In this sermon he told the people that happiness cannot be conferred, for the secret of happiness is character; that there can be no kingdom of God in society unless there is a kingdom of God in the individual life; and that obedience in action to the divine law is not enough, there must be unity of the human spirit with the divine spirit. The Sermon on the Mount interprets the declaration of the psalmist: "I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart." Jesus did not substitute an individual gospel for a social gospel, but he taught that there could be no social gospel without an individual gospel. A brave army cannot be composed of cowardly soldiers, nor a learned school of dunces, nor can a loving and loyal family of the heavenly Father be composed of disloyal and quarreling children.

The Jews believed that this kingdom would be given to them as the favored people of Jehovah. Jesus told his disciples that it would not be given by God to man, but must be wrought by men in a spirit of loyalty to God. In one of his sermons, several times repeated in different forms, he compared God to an absentee landlord and the world to an estate which the landlord has left for his servants to administer. The Jews believed that the kingdom would suddenly and by a miraculous display of divine power be bestowed. Jesus in a series of parables told his disciples that the kingdom of God was like a seed growing secretly, no one knows how; that its growth was dependent upon the soil in which it was planted—that it would thrive in some communities better than in others and in some communities not at all; that evil would grow as well as good, and that they must never be discouraged because they saw the growth of evil; that the kingdom would grow only by agitation against hostility, inertia, and indifference—like a little yeast in a great lump of dough; that it would be won by his disciples at a great cost, like a treasure hidden in a field or a pearl found in the market-place, to acquire

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which the purchaser has to sell all that he has; and again and again he told his disciples that to acquire this kingdom they must be ready to give up houses, lands, reputation, peace, life itself.

The contrast between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of this world he made very clear in a passage which furnishes, I think, both the briefest and the most lucid definition of the difference between Christianity and paganism to be found anywhere in literature. It is as follows:

> Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

Whether a community is pagan or Christian does not depend upon its theological creed, its church organizations, its forms of worship, or even the name it gives to its God. It does not depend upon the question whether the people correctly define the relation of Jesus of Nazareth to God on the one hand and humanity on the other; whether they worship in a temple, meeting-house, or the woods; whether they use an elaborate ritual or none at all; whether they call the object of their worship Buddha, or Allah, or Odin, or Jehovah. It depends on the question whether their ideal of God is an almighty power which they fear, or an inexorable law to which they reluctantly submit, or a serene indifference to the pains and pleasures of life which they admire, or an infinite love which lives for and suffers with the loved one. It depends on whether their religion terrifies or rules or meditates or serves. Any community in which the weak serve the strong, the poor serve the rich, the ignorant serve the wise, the few serve the many, is in so far a pagan community. Any community in which the strong serve the weak, the wise serve the ignorant, the rich serve the poor, the many serve the few, is in so far a Christian community.

What Jesus meant by service he made clear by his teaching. He illustrated it by the story of the heretical Samaritan going to the succor of the wounded traveler in contrast with a priest and a Levite hurrying to the church service; the story of the rich man whom he sent to hell, not for any wrong inflicted upon Lazarus, but for saying to himself, "The sufferings of the beggar at the door do not concern me," and leaving the beggar unrelieved; the picture of the last judgment in which those were welcomed to the mansion of their heavenly Father who had fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, clothed the stranger, and visited the sick. The fact that they did not know that Jesus was the Messiah and that they were rendering service to him did not affect the divine judgment.

Still more clearly Jesus illustrated by his own life what he meant by service. He gave himself unreservedly to making the world he lived in a better and happier world. Were men hungry he fed them, were they ignorant he taught them, were they in sorrow he comforted them, were they in despair he brought hope to them, were they the victims of wrong-doing he denounced their oppressors, and in two instances at the hazard of his life he came to the rescue of the defenseless.

How can any man to-day preach the Old Gospel and ignore the present war?

The Master has made his mission very clear. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," he said, "because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised." Dying, he transmitted to his disciples this mission. "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you," were almost his last words to them.

A band of robbers has invaded Belgium and France and stolen coal and iron from the mines, crops from the fields, money from the banks, pictures, statuary, and jewels from the homes, and what it could not steal it has wantonly destroyed. We have power to drive the robbers off. How can we preach glad tidings to the poor if we play the part of Dives and the woes of Lazarus do not concern us? This band of robbers has enslaved men and women by the thousand and set them to work raising food to feed their enemies and making munitions to enable their enemies to continue the work of devastation. How can we preach deliverance to these captives and remain at home complacent in our own prosperity? This band has used its scientific knowledge in the manufacture of poisonous gases to destroy the eyes of thousands of its fellow-men. How can we allow that process to go on and pretend to fulfill our divine mission to give sight to the blind? The imperial leader of this band has avowed his purpose to establish a Roman Empire in Europe, and the intellectual leaders of this band have poisoned the minds of the people with the doctrine that "Might makes Right," that the strong owe no duty to the weak—the sooner they die, the better—and some of them have declared that Odin, the god of force, is greater than Jehovah, the God of love. How can we pretend to set at liberty them that are sorely bruised by these oppressors if we are deaf to the cries of the Armenians, the Serbians, the Poles, and the Belgians? The minister who is indifferent to this war is either ignorant of or indifferent to the call of his Master. He does not preach the Old Gospel—the Gospel which Paul summed up in the sentence, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself"—the world, not some men from the world. He came not to rescue a few favored ones from a sinking ship, not to graduate a few choice scholars from a mass left in ignorance, not to save a few saints from a lost world: but to show the mariners how to bring the ship and all its passengers safe into the harbor, the teachers how to instruct all the pupils in the laws of God, and to reconcile the world to God by making it a world inspired by God with the spirit of love, service, and sacrifice.

I cannot understand those who think that Christianity has failed. It seems to me never to have been so triumphant as it is to-day. They can see that pitiless German horde raping, robbing, murdering, but they cannot see the followers of Christ carrying, at the cost of their own lives, his message of succor to the poor, the captives, the blinded, and those that are bruised by oppression. They can see the priests confessing their travesty of faith in the sentence, "He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him;" but they cannot see the crucified Christ conquering the world by self-sacrifice.

A nation is made Christian not by maintaining an established church, or building cathedrals, or writing a confession of its faith into its constitution. It is made Christian by the spirit of love, service, and sacrifice. When did a nation ever show so much of this spirit of love, service, and sacrifice as the American Nation does to-day? The Government has called upon the people for eight thousand millions of dollars to carry on the war for the freedom of the world, and the people have offered more than they were asked to contribute. The Red Cross has asked for other millions to minister to the wounded on the fields, the sick and suffering in the hospitals, and the impoverished civilians in the devastated countries, and the people have offered more than they were asked to give. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. have asked other millions to aid them in social and spiritual services, and the people have given them more than was called for. They are denying themselves food they prefer that they may send food to others who are in greater need. The young men and women are offering themselves, and their fathers and mothers are offering their sons and their daughters, in life-giving service—laying down their lives for peoples across the sea whom most of us have never seen, whose very language most of us cannot understand. The cross which a few years ago was seen only on the breasts of a few ecclesiastics or on the spires of some of our churches is now accepted as a symbol of their faith by twenty-three million members of the Red Cross who have the right to this symbol, and most of whom are wearing it on their person or displaying it in their window. Every man who wears this cross is a priest; every home adorned by it is a church. The spirit of love, service, and sacrifice has burst through all barriers of creed and church, and is found to-day in the hearts and lives of Catholics and Protestants, Christians and Jews, believers and agnostics.

Never in the history of the world had a people a better reason than the American people have to-day for singing:

> "In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
> With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
> As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
> While God is marching on."

The Knoll, Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York.

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.

HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Based on The Outlook of April 24, 1918

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: "Gassing" the World's Mind.
Reference: Pages 668–670.
Questions:

1. How does Mr. Ellis characterize Russian "internationalism"? Does it seem to you that it is an evil influence? Tell why. 2. Build up an argument showing that "the best internationalist to-day is the true American." 3. Is internationalism a fictitious affair? How prove what you conclude? 4. What does Mr. Ellis mean by "there are a thousand worse fates than being dead"? Name and discuss merely three or four. 5. Discuss how fine ideals can be developed in young American citizens. 6. Of what value are moral and ethical ideals and principles unless they are efficiently applied to public life? Tell how they may be efficiently applied. 7. Read Colonel Roosevelt's valuable little book "Applied Ethics" (Harvard University Press), and "International Realities," by P. M. Brown (Scribners); "Our Revolution," by Leon Trotzky (Henry Holt); "The Citizen's Part in Government," by Elihu Root (Yale University Press).

B. Topic: Revolutionary Leaders.
Reference: Pages 674, 675.
Questions:

1. What are the characteristics of a revolutionary leader as set forth by Mme. Malmberg? 2. What does she say about Father Gapon, Captain J. Kock, Enver Bey, Kerensky, and Trotsky? What were the objects of the revolutions led by these men? 3. Give reasons why it is possible for revolutionary leaders to make or mar the world. 4. Were Oliver Cromwell and Robert E. Lee revolutionary leaders? Were Herbert Spencer and Abdul Hamid? How much do you know about these men and their influence upon the world's history? 5. Discuss why some men make history more than others. 6. Why not read four worth-while biographies—"Oliver Cromwell," by Charles Firth (Putnams); "Robert E. Lee," by H. A. White (Putnams); "Herbert Spencer," by Hugh Elliot (Holt); "Abdul Hamid," by Sir Edwin Pears (Holt)?

II—FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Topic: Home Rule and Conscription.
Reference: Editorial, pages 661, 662.
Questions:

1. Explain carefully what is meant by Irish Home Rule. 2. Why has not the Irish Convention agreed upon a plan for Home Rule? 3. The Outlook speaks of "the unreasoning nature of Irish politicians." Do you think the present status of England's proposition to Ireland, made in 1914, justifies such a characterization? 4. What are The Outlook's "cogent reasons why conscription in Ireland is necessary"? 5. In your opinion, is the fate of Ireland bound up with that of Great Britain? Show why or why not. 6. If Ireland resists conscription under present world conditions, would you consider her a sincere believer in freedom? Reasons. 7. Produce an argument for Irish absolute independence and an argument for Irish autonomy. Which seems to you the wiser course for Ireland? 8. Do you think Great Britain in proposing conscription for Ireland made a bad error in judgment? Discuss.

III—NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Topic: Booze or Coal.
Reference: Pages 659, 660.
Questions:

1. What facts has The Outlook given about the output of American coal mines? 2. What relation exists between this output and the drinking of intoxicating liquors? 3. Is it "just as important to safeguard our coal production as it is to protect munition plants and camps of soldiers"? If so, why does not the Government do it? 4. Discuss the responsibility of allowing booze to interfere with the production of coal. 5. What is our annual drink bill? Compare this with four or five other items of expenditure. What are your conclusions? 6. Is it possible to find satisfactory substitutes for the saloon? Give several reasons. 7. If it is not possible, do the arguments for prohibition fall to the ground? Discuss. 8. Read "Social Problems," by Ezra T. Towne (Macmillan), pages 256–284.

IV—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

1. The best way to understand history is to read biography. 2. This war shows that society needs to be completely reconstructed. 3. A nation behaves like an individual.

V—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for April 24, 1918. Both before and after looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words*. The figures in parentheses refer to pages on which the words may be found.)

Adjurations (668); provincialism, cult, specious, repudiation, recreancy, hysteria (669); purist, feminism (670); Viking, revolutionists (674); melodramatic (675).

A booklet suggesting methods of using the Weekly Outline of Current History will be sent on application

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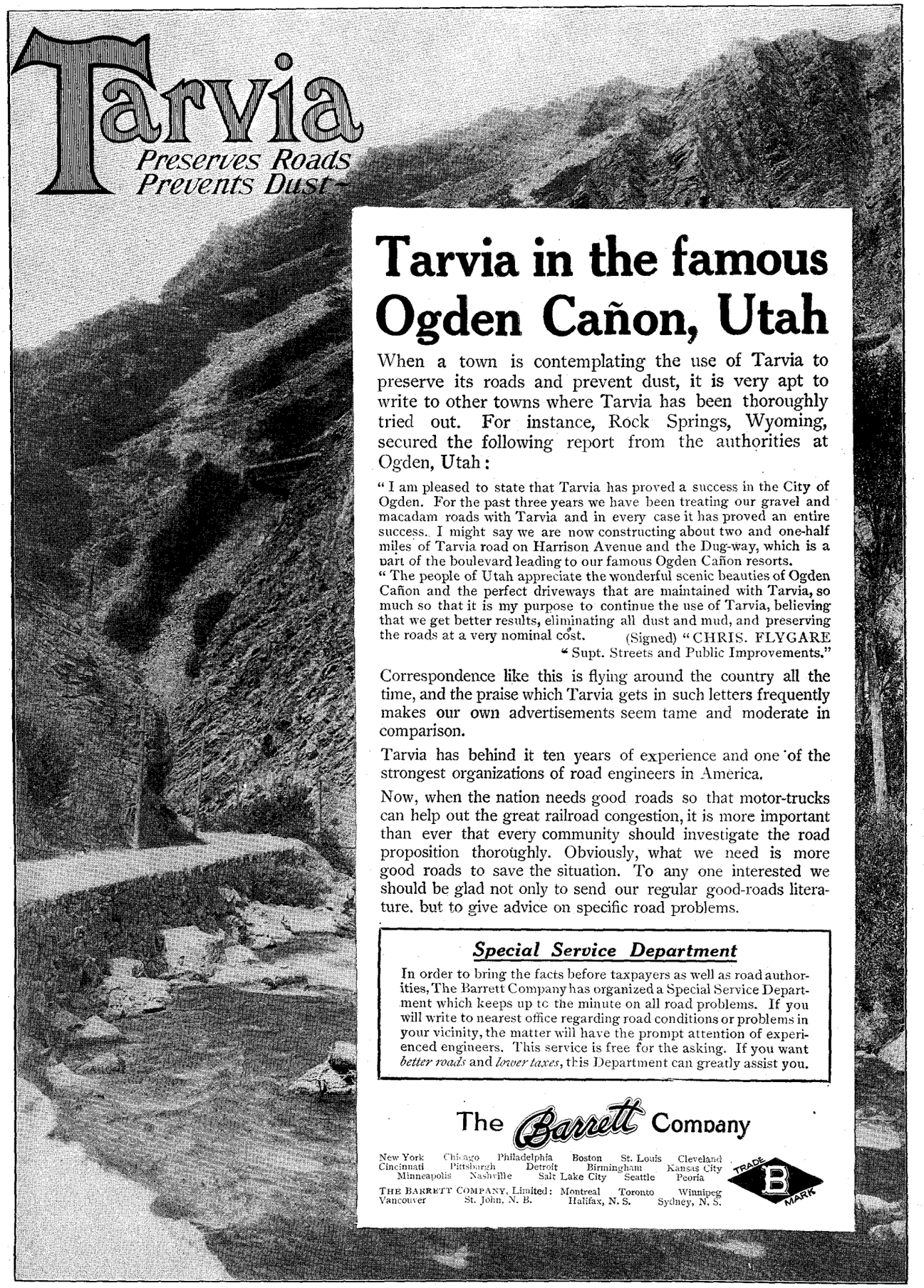

Tarvia in the famous Ogden Cañon, Utah

When a town is contemplating the use of Tarvia to preserve its roads and prevent dust, it is very apt to write to other towns where Tarvia has been thoroughly tried out. For instance, Rock Springs, Wyoming, secured the following report from the authorities at Ogden, Utah:

"I am pleased to state that Tarvia has proved a success in the City of Ogden. For the past three years we have been treating our gravel and macadam roads with Tarvia and in every case it has proved an entire success. I might say we are now constructing about two and one-half miles of Tarvia road on Harrison Avenue and the Dug-way, which is a part of the boulevard leading to our famous Ogden Cañon resorts.

"The people of Utah appreciate the wonderful scenic beauties of Ogden Cañon and the perfect driveways that are maintained with Tarvia, so much so that it is my purpose to continue the use of Tarvia, believing that we get better results, eliminating all dust and mud, and preserving the roads at a very nominal cost. (Signed) "CHRIS. FLYGARE
"Supt. Streets and Public Improvements."

Correspondence like this is flying around the country all the time, and the praise which Tarvia gets in such letters frequently makes our own advertisements seem tame and moderate in comparison.

Tarvia has behind it ten years of experience and one of the strongest organizations of road engineers in America.

Now, when the nation needs good roads so that motor-trucks can help out the great railroad congestion, it is more important than ever that every community should investigate the road proposition thoroughly. Obviously, what we need is more good roads to save the situation. To any one interested we should be glad not only to send our regular good-roads literature, but to give advice on specific road problems.

Special Service Department

In order to bring the facts before taxpayers as well as road authorities, The Barrett Company has organized a Special Service Department which keeps up to the minute on all road problems. If you will write to nearest office regarding road conditions or problems in your vicinity, the matter will have the prompt attention of experienced engineers. This service is free for the asking. If you want *better roads* and *lower taxes*, this Department can greatly assist you.

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THE ART OF BIOGRAPHY

BY ESTHER MATSON

"A BOOK," said Samuel Johnson, "should show us either how to enjoy life or how to endure it." Now the beauty of the biography is that it can do both.

It is natural for us to be always more or less curious about notable men and women. Indeed, in spite of ourselves, we are all to a greater or less degree hero-worshipers still. But to-day our interest in this kind of book grows apace, so that it almost seems as if "Lives and Letters," "Reminiscences," "Recollections," and even "Autobiographies" were bidding fair to become the fashion. Surely 1917 was indeed a "biography year." And among the biographies were books of such caliber as new letters of Lincoln, Edmund Gosse's "Swinburne," Brander Matthews's "These Many Years," John Morley's "Recollections," and the new life of John Keats by Sidney Colvin. This is to mention a random few—and with 1918 still they come.

Is there for this any special reason? I believe there is good reason. For in a time when the daily events are too likely to excite or dishearten us we need some solace and some stimulus for our souls' sake. It is a blessed relief, when the pessimistic imps have us in their clutch, to turn to the records of lives that have been lived through and that can be looked at in perspective. It is no little comfort to discover that there have been men who were able to light little candles of hope for themselves, and there is just the chance that we may be able to warm our own finger-tips at those rays.

Yes, the biography that is merely worth while can boast its fair excuse for being. But as for the one that is "more excellent"—the one such as E. T. Cook's "Ruskin," as Parker's "Edward Rowland Sill," as Paine's "Mark Twain"—that gives us something more than the plain record or simple study of a man; it has the double delight of æsthetic satisfaction and intensest human interest. For the more excellent biography takes rank among the fine arts. It is justly to be compared with the art of portraiture in painting.

Comparisons here are not odious but happily fragrant. And it is significant that the first thing required alike of the painter of a portrait and of the writer of a life should be a knack or special talent for catching the likeness. This is as much a *sine qua non* for both of these artists as the story-telling faculty is a *sine qua non* for the anecdotist or for the short-story writer.

Again, of both the painter and the writer we ask one further good thing—we ask that they do their work *con diligenza, con studio, con amore*. With diligence, yes; with carefulness, surely; and with both enthusiasm and sympathy as well as charity. Hilaire Belloc is said to have once remarked that he had no business trying to write about Marie Antoinette because he had no patience with her type of character. Without sympathy how can an endeavor to portray human nature, whether on canvas or in a book, be other than the foregone conclusion of failure?

Perhaps the monumental example of an exceptionally sympathetic study is Colvin's "Keats." Coming, as the new work does, thirty years after the well-known monograph on the poet, the beauty of it rests not alone in the ripe scholarship evidenced and in the masterly treatment, but also, and best of all, in the burning, torch-like testimony it gives to the "allure" of that rare genius.

Sympathy may be the very motive power that impels the painting of the portrait or the writing of the book. Enthusiasm for a hero or a recent comrade may be so strong as to enkindle the longing to do him honor, to enshrine his memory in some form that will last. In the case of a writer his desire runs naturally to the form of biography. "There is neither picture, nor image of marble, nor sumptuous sepulcher, can match the durableness of an eloquent biography." So wrote, in the middle of the sixteenth century, one Jacques Amyot.

The following out of the commemorative instinct lends a touching significance to lives or to lives and letters arranged by a man's wife or son or very intimate friend. I think of Mrs. Watts's happy representation of her painter husband, of the Stevenson and Meredith letters. I am minded, to be sure, of the classic example of the Johnson as done by his faithful Boswell; but, to dwell on tomes less ponderous, there is the life of Macaulay by his nephew Trevelyan; two volumes long, I grant, but with plenty of every-day, human touches such as most of us, I suspect, when we read the essayist in school never dreamed of as possible. There are the "Reminiscences of Saint-Gaudens," edited by his son. There is Edward Everett Hale's life by his son, and A. C. Benson's life of his sister Maggie, and the "Letters of Mark Twain" brought out by his fervent admirer, Paine, and giving us that happy flashlight of Kipling's anent our American humorist, to wit: "Cervantes was a relative of his."

But to turn back for a moment to the comparison of our two arts of portraiture, the one by pigments, the other by words; true, there is a marked similarity between them, but there is also much dissimilarity. It is true that the painter on canvas has one great advantage. It lies within his power to get an immediate, impressionistic effect. His not to analyze or to reason why. His but to make us see his man as we might have seen him in his lifetime, or, if it is a present-day portrait, as we may chance to see him to-morrow. And here, if the artist is successful, he does make us feel as if we were looking at the flesh-and-blood man. We say he has achieved a wonderful likeness, that the painting seems on the point of speaking to us.

But, on the other hand, the painter labors under one very positive disadvantage. He can represent his sitter in but a single mood. No matter how keen he may be to detect and to depict what we call the most characteristic mood, the most dominant expression, this nevertheless constitutes a handicap. It makes for one-sidedness, if not for inadequacy, in his representation. The writer, contrariwise, is free to show his subject in many and in successive moods. And as we all realize, while one of these may be thoroughly characteristic at one period in his life, it may become quite uncharacteristic—possibly, indeed, absolutely untrue—at a later period. Here the difference between the two arts becomes as great as that between the old art of the tableau and the modern "movie."

More than this, the writer can show behind his central figure many tapestry-like glimpses of that figure's friends and

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contemporaries. He can make us acquainted with his man's *milieu*. Indeed, he must, if he is to interpret his character truly, show it to us in its relation to the historic background. How, for instance, could we get an impression of John Fiske or of John Morley without an impression also of the nineteenth-century America and the nineteenth-century England against which they stand silhouetted?

Fine examples of this interrelation between events and the man are Morley's studies of Voltaire and of Gladstone; and books such as these emphasize a further value in biography, since it is true, as M. Cousin says, that "the great man represents the quintessence of his epoch."

And still again the writer has the chance, denied the painter, of employing narrative. His not the opportunity to give us a picture or a series of pictures merely, but to stir us more deeply and powerfully still by telling his story in such wise that we follow one episode after another to a dramatic climax of acts and consequences.

As for the autobiography, in this we have a peculiarly interesting and intimate phase of the art of portraiture—almost indeed a little *genre* in itself. At first sight the self-picture seems too egregiously egotistic. What reason, forsooth, have any of us to take ourselves so seriously? Yet who of us would care to give up Rembrandt's masterly—nay, marvelously inspiring—reflections of himself? And there exist autobiographies so captivating—Leigh Hunt's is one of them—that we are full ready to forgive the authors their quota of needed conceit. Besides, no man can ever know another man's inner life as he can his own. Then, too, no matter how well he may know himself, not every one is able or willing to reveal himself with absolute frankness. Whence, as Stevenson puts it, "in this world of imperfections we gladly welcome even partial intimacies."

How I recall the avidity with which we pick out the autobiographic portions—or those alleged as such—in books of fiction! See how keen we are to find allusions to Dickens's own childhood in "David Copperfield," and to little Marian Evans in the story of Maggie Tulliver!

These authors veiled their matter of fact under matter of fiction. Henry James, contrariwise, in these three volumes of his—"Notes of a Son and Brother," "A Small Boy and Others," and, lastly, "The Middle Years," frankly admitted the autobiographical purpose.

I find the reminiscent vein becoming to Howells, who had already written "A Boy's Town," "My Literary Passions," "Literary Friends and Acquaintances," before he brought out, a couple of years ago, his "Years of My Youth." Saint-Gaudens's "Reminiscences," with its delightful blend of Irish wit and Gallic sensitiveness, belongs to another category; and there is still another group of self-portraits that are ostensibly sociologic in their appeal. Mary Antin's belongs to this group, as does Abraham Rihbany's. In "A Far Journey" the latter gives most engaging glimpses of his boy life in Syria—in the early spring, when a peasant would come to plow the home grounds in primitive fashion, with a yoke over one shoulder and a goad to urge on the oxen; in the days when the silkworms would come out of their cocoons; and in the summer, "time of grapes and figs."

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Flying Teuton (The). By Alice Brown. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

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Man Who Lost Himself (The). By H. de Vere Stacpoole. The John Lane Company, New York. $1.40.

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October 2—November 6
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Each of these issues of The Outlook will contain, in addition to the usual number of book reviews, a special article of timely interest on the general subject of books.

Special reprints of the publishers' announcements, the book reviews, and the article appearing in each of these publishers' numbers, will be sent, coincident with their dates of publication, to a list of approximately nine hundred of the leading book dealers of the country, who in turn will be advised that additional reprints, bearing their own imprint, can be secured from The Outlook at cost price.

The New Books (Continued)

tales the bony framework appears somewhat too obviously. There is excitement enough in the author's experiences to make the "plain, unvarnished tale" acceptable without the thin disguise of fiction.

Restless Sex (The). By Robert W. Chambers. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

A novel of New York's Washington Square and Greenwich Village, with the art and the alleged Bohemian side to the front. The title is justified by a tangle of engagements, love affairs, and marriages. There is, of course, a war connection.

Thunders of Silence (The). By Irvin S. Cobb. Illustrated. The George H. Doran Company, New York. 50c.

A clever bit of imaginative writing in which a disloyal, egotistical United States Senator is reduced to desperation and final suicide by a conspiracy of silence as to him and his doings and sayings by the press and people of the country.

Unwilling Vestal (The). By Edward Lucas White. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.

Many years ago, when Charles Major wrote "When Knighthood Was in Flower," the critics laughed because, as they said, he made Queen Elizabeth talk like an Indiana country girl. But the author had the best of the laugh, for his book sold enormously, and largely because he made his people talk as if they were alive, and not stilted dummies. Probably he put modern slang and modern locutions purposely into his sixteenth-century characters' mouths. Certainly Mr. White in his fascinating story of old Rome purposely makes Emperor, Vestal Virgins, slaves, and every one else talk like the people you see at movies or meet on the railway. It is a bit surprising, when the Vestal Brinnaria saves the life of a gladiator in the Colosseum by turning down her thumb, to be told that the audience roared at her, "Good for you, Sis," or to hear the Emperor of Rome say, "When I took this emperor job," and remark that he is getting pretty tired of "emperoring." But for once we have a story of classical days over which we do not go to sleep. The same is true, of course, of "Quo Vadis," but that remarkable book is far less unconventional than this.

Mr. White's "El Supremo" was prodigiously long and full of minute detail, and yet it was curiously fascinating. This story is not prolix, and it is full of startling and stirring incidents. We get closer to social, every-day life in Rome than anywhere except in some of the Latin comedies, which not many people read—and for good reasons! Our idea of a Vestal Virgin as a sort of solemn nun is dissipated when we find Brinnaria running stock farms, driving fast horses, attending luxurious feasts, and acquiring enormous wealth, to say nothing of thrashing a high priest. At the end of her thirty years' service she marries the man who has waited for her those thirty years and has meanwhile had startling adventures of his own. Between them they manage on their wedding day to save the Palladium, the Emperor, and Rome itself.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

Champion of the Foothills (A). By Lewis Edwin Theiss. Illustrated. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City. $1.35.

This live American boy has the good luck to live where fishing, hunting, and all-round outdoor excitement are easily possible. But also he finds adventure in making good as a boy farmer. He has to do it, and he does it, by thrift, modern methods,

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The New Books (Continued)

and sheer pluck. His trials and successes are depicted with vivacity. The book is the opposite of being either dull or preachy.

BIOGRAPHY

Lemuel Shaw. Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts 1830–1860. By Frederic Hathaway Chase. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.

Justice Shaw was one of the group of great figures that made the courts of Massachusetts notable in the first half of the last century. Among these were Webster, Choate, Story, Jeremiah Mason, R. H. Dana, and Caleb Cushing. He was a peer of these men and well worthy of the dignified appreciation which he receives in this book, his first adequate biography. The frontispiece portrait shows him to be a man of great power, but gives point to Choate's toast: "The Chief Justice. We contemplate him as the East Indian does his wooden-headed idol—he knows that he is ugly but he feels that he is great."

Irish Memories. By E. Œ. Somerville and Martin Ross. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $4.20.

Every one who enjoyed the humor of "Some Experiences of an Irish R. M." some twenty years ago will be glad to have this book of memories and glimpses of Irish country life, chiefly by Miss Somerville. Her account of her friendship and collaboration with Miss Martin (Martin Ross) and the tribute to her memory are not the least valuable part of the book.

POETRY

Toward the Gulf. By Edgar Lee Masters. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

Some of these poems are melodramatic and some deal more quietly with men and women's motives and actions in a direct, searching way. The form of several recalls Mr. Masters's strangely effective "Spoon River Anthology."

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Mysticism and Logic, and Other Essays. By Bertrand Russell, M.A., F.R.S. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $2.50.

Whitman and Traubel. By William English Walling. Egmont H. Arens, 17 West Eighth St., New York. $1.

Comments on and quotations from the work both of Whitman and of one of his biographers who has adopted Whitman's literary style. The work of the pupil is, as judged from these excerpts, like that of most pupils of great men—a disappointing reflection of genius.

WAR BOOKS

A. E. F. (The). With General Pershing and the American Forces. By Heywood Broun. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

Lively sketches of the doings of our soldiers in France. They will amuse people who want to read about the bright side of war—if there is any.

Book of Artemas (The). Concerning men, and the things that men did do, at the time when there was war. The George H. Doran Company, New York. 50c.

This book talks about the war in the phraseology of the Scripture chronicles. This is an old device and one that never struck us as really humorous. But the book has had, it is said, an enormous circulation in England.

Escape of a Princess Pat (The). By George Pearson. Illustrated. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.40.

A story of life at the front, among the Huns, and of escape from captivity, that is so absorbing in its interest that the reader is compelled to finish it at a single sitting. Among the accounts of personal adventure brought out by the great war it is one of the most thrilling. Unlike many of these

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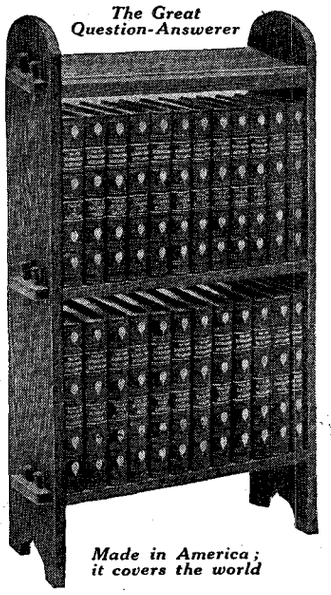

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narratives, it ends happily, which is a pleasant thing in a war book.

Battering the Boche. By Preston Gibson. Illustrated. The Century Company, New York. $1.

This war narrative is noteworthy in that it describes the new methods of fighting clearly in addition to the relation of exciting personal experiences.

"Ladies From Hell." By R. Douglas Pinkerton. Illustrated. The Century Company, New York. $1.50.

The title is the singular nickname given the kilted soldiers of the famous London Scottish Regiment. The author was one of the "Ladies," and fought at the Marne, before Lille, and elsewhere. He tells his thrilling story with animation in a series of graphic pen pictures.

"Over There" with the Australians. By Captain R. Hugh Knyvett. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

Only a day or two after Captain Knyvett's book appeared he died in this country of disease incurred in the exposure incident to war. He was a gallant soldier and a man of high ideals. This book is the first to tell in a popular way of the camp life and the fighting of Australia's soldiers at Gallipoli and on the Somme front. It is eminently readable, and is already recognized as one of the best of popular war books.

To Bagdad with the British. By Arthur Tillotson Clark. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

There has been no better war correspondence than that of Mr. Clark from the Mesopotamian front. Those who read in the daily press his letters from and beyond Bagdad will want to read them again. The story of Mesopotamia and the British early failures and final success is romantic and thrilling. We take off our hat to Tommy Atkins and the Y. M. C. A. in the East.

MISCELLANEOUS

Art of Photoplay Making (The). By Victor Oscar Freeburg, Ph.D. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

A thoughtful consideration of the subject which will interest both the serious devotees of the movies and the people who make the photoplays or who think they would like to make them.

Film Folk. By Rob Wagner. Illustrated. The Century Company, New York. $2.

Mr. Wagner has known the "movie game" from its start onward. He tells here not so much of the "stunt" side as of the human side—directors, camera men, actors and actresses, their training, methods, and whims. The book is emphatically readable. The scene is Los Angeles, where the movie world most centers.

Foster on Auction. A Complete Exposition of the Latest Developments of Modern Auction. By R. F. Foster. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.

Every auction player knows that Foster is an authority and an expert. His exposition of good and bad bidding with illustrative hands is especially illuminating. If it is worth while to play cards at all, it is worth while to get at least some inkling of the real science and skill. There is as much difference between an expert like Foster and a novice as in chess there would be between Morphy and a beginner.

Real Business of Living (The). By James H. Tufts. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

The title scarcely brings out the thoroughly practical character of this book. While the author is Professor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago, he has in this work largely laid aside abstract problems and dealt with the vital political and economic issues of our present troubled times. The book gives an impression of fair-mindedness, of ability to see both sides of difficult questions, and of a faith in the ultimate outcome of our social difficulties that is inspiring and helpful.

Romance of Commerce (The). By H. Gordon Selfridge. Illustrated. The John Lane Company, New York. $3.

Although the author is the head of a great department store in London, there is in this book but little of his personality as such a head. It deals largely with the formal history of commerce and its great figures. In the last chapter, however, the methods of the "big stores" are well described. There are many fine illustrations.

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THE NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Believing that the advance of business is a subject of vital interest and importance, The Outlook will present under the above heading frequent discussions of subjects of industrial and commercial interest. This department will include paragraphs of timely interest and articles of educational value dealing with the industrial upbuilding of the Nation. Comment and suggestions are invited.

MOTOR TRUCKS AND FREIGHT CONGESTION

IT is costing the manufacturers of this country hundreds of millions of dollars in goods and the workingmen millions of dollars in wages to learn that our transportation facilities cannot be stretched indefinitely and still permit shippers and consignees to follow their own individual interests regarding the handling and delivery of goods in transit.

The chaotic condition in which we find our railways to-day—the fact that freight lines, express companies, and mail routes are swamped—is not due to severe weather conditions and the coal shortage alone, and a mere return of mild weather will not entirely remedy matters. This condition is due to a clogging of distribution channels—the laying up of cars which should be in transit, congestion at railway terminals. It will not be cured until some practical means is found to keep these channels clear and to route freight *through* the terminals rather than *to* them.

Under present conditions freight is delivered to the railway by the shipper, whose responsibility then ceases. This freight is transported by the railway to its destination, and is then held at the terminal until called for by the consignee. It may lie in the railway warehouse for a day, two days, or a week, and in the meantime additional freight is pouring in and overtaxing warehouse facilities. Cars cannot be unloaded, and must in turn serve as warehouses, thus bringing about a car shortage. Thus the whole railway system becomes congested; delivery of goods is delayed or entirely stopped, and the industrial welfare of the entire country is imperiled. Our business men must heed the general call from the Federal Government for help in this matter, which has now become extremely serious.

Railways have always delivered less-than-car-load freight to their own freight platform and let the individual consignee or an expressman call there for it. The National express companies, like Adams, American, Wells Fargo, etc., have their own express platforms, where their goods are classified immediately upon being unloaded from the express car and are transferred into their own trucks, which take them either to distributing stations or directly out on certain routes.

There is no more reason why freight should be stopped at the terminal than that express or mail should be stopped at the terminal; it is perfectly practicable to organize freight distribution beyond the terminal by means of regular motor truck delivery routes, and this could be effected to great advantage to all concerned.

Consider for a moment what would happen if Uncle Sam refused to deliver any mail in any first-class city. The post office building would have to be materially increased in size and would be obliged to have quite as many employees as now, if not more. Probably ninety per cent of the families in that city would have to send their representatives to the post office. They would use street cars and other public conveyances. Think of the trouble and cost and the extra tax on street-car lines and public service facilities. The cost to the Government on account of congestion would be considerably more than at present, and in all probability it would be unable to handle the mail at two cents an ounce, or, now, three cents. Undoubtedly the cost to all concerned would be enormously increased. And any move on the Government's part in this direction would meet with public disfavor. Nevertheless that is the way railway freights are handled to-day. And they are handled that way simply because that is the way it has always been done and because the transportation and terminal facilities have been considerably more than adequate to take care of normal business.

Of course before the Government took control of the railways there might have been certain practical objections to an extension of their prerogatives; public sentiment probably would have been opposed to their undertaking to deliver even less-than-car-load freight to the consignee's door; but now any objections based upon the idea of private monopoly are dissipated, at least for the duration of the war, because of Government control.

From the practical standpoint, it is obvious that the Government has no organization to take over this work immediately, but it is so important from the country's standpoint that any movement on the part of manufacturers' associations, instituted to relieve the conditions, would be perfectly proper and would undoubtedly find government authorities, both Federal and civic, more than ready to co-operate.

While this plan has been promulgated by one of the leading truck manufacturers of the country, who has made a particular study of highway delivery, it is interesting to note that not only was a similar plan in operation in the city of Baltimore for some years, but that this general method of freight delivery has been in operation in England,

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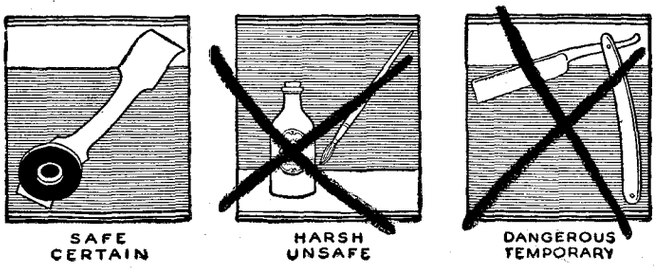

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Motor Trucks and Freight Congestion (Continued)

France, and Germany for perhaps thirty or forty years. It was abandoned in Baltimore by order of the Inter-State Commerce Commission in 1913—probably because it savored of monopoly. As far as we are able to determine, however, there is no lack of evidence as to the practicability of the plan; it is advisable from an economical standpoint, if not indeed a necessity, if we are to have efficient transportation throughout the country.

The scope of usefulness of the horse has diminished rapidly with the development of modern motor trucks for highway transportation and the utilization of the gas engine and tractors for field work. But because of the lack of familiarity with trucks and the value of the different sized units, comparatively few people to-day think in straight lines on the subject. We know the facts concerning railways. Railway officials differentiate between locomotives used for freight or for passenger service. Let us consider for a minute our highways and the units operating upon them, which we must know before we can attempt to co-ordinate railway and steamship transportation with highway transportation.

Our highway units, practically speaking, are the one-horse and two-horse vehicles, and motor-driven vehicles from one-half-ton to ten-ton capacity. A horse cannot average over sixteen miles a day, and it costs about $1,500 a year to maintain a single horse and wagon. This includes stabling, feeding, and depreciation.

When we employ motor trucks, the mileage immediately advances. There are a number of trucks in operation averaging 125 miles per day (eight-hour day). Such mileage is possible only when the load is delivered at a single point and does not permit of many stops. The average one-half-ton truck used for delivery work covers from thirty-five to fifty miles daily, and, all things considered, it costs in the neighborhood of $2,000 per year to maintain. With the heavier units, as their load increases their mileage, as a rule, decreases, but, like any other machine, their economy lies in the cost-per-unit-of-work-done, as compared with other units in like use. If heavy trucks are kept standing in front of platforms waiting for loads the major portion of the day, they cannot be economical; if they are delayed continually in congested streets and are made to accept the pace set for them by horses dragging heavy loads, they cannot be economical; if the railway company is obliged to use its terminals as warehouses for at least twenty-four to forty-eight hours for every piece of freight that comes to it (allowing for the notification of the consignee), congestion immediately results. It is also most uneconomical to move goods into the warehouse and then move them out again a day or two later at the pleasure of the consignee.

If the consignee must depend upon slow-moving drayage to seek out and move his consignment, he cannot help himself, for he cannot use trucks efficiently. He cannot help the railway company; he cannot relieve the terminal of its congestion. The terminal cannot unload its freight cars; the freight yard cannot be relieved of the congestion of freight cars in which goods are thus perforce stored; and, as a result, there is a great shortage of cars, with its attendant serious evils. Munition factories and factories working on Government orders are handicapped for lack of fuel and materials. Ships are held waiting on railway delivery to complete their cargoes, and our armies "Over There" suffer. The entire economic machinery of the country is thus thrown out of gear.

The chaos and confusion of highway transportation can, and must be, relieved; it can be done through systematic organization. When this is done, it will go a long way toward relieving freight congestion. The Federal authorities could do it, but it would be a great job for them to undertake at this time when they are so pressed with the consideration of other matters. Civic associations of business men could take it up, and a number of them are already doing so. Each is in a position to study the problems presented by its own city, and in so doing can help every one concerned, from shipper to consumer or soldier. Give the shipper cars, reduce the enormous terminal costs chargeable to warehousing and handling, reduce the delivery cost to the consignee, relieve highway congestion in our business districts, and serve consumer or soldier more promptly.

Trucks are the answer—trucks of suitable size for the particular work in hand; trucks of good construction and known reliability, operated in fleets from the terminal platforms, each truck covering a specific route. Routes would not be duplicated or overlapped. Less-than-car-load and car-load freight could be largely delivered directly from the freight car to the truck on whose route the consignee was located; each truck would thus be insured a full load a large percentage of the time, and would be kept in efficient operation.

Co-ordinate routes and systematize express delivery lines equipped with trucks; stop the duplication of routes, the hauling of partial loads, and put the delivery and collection of all goods to or from any terminal under the direction of a single delivery or drayage company—owned and controlled by the Merchants' Association or by the municipality itself—prorating the thus reduced cost of delivery to the various merchants on a per ton or per unit mile basis.

The truck routes should be mapped out by traffic experts. They should be arranged on schedules similar to railway train schedules. Traffic regulations should be adjusted so that the streets and highways might be cleared for the passage of the truck trains. Trucks of suitable size should be carefully selected for different phases of delivery work. Large shipments might be taken from the railways by heavy trucks to central distributing points, and then the individual consignments might be delivered by light one-half-ton or one-ton trucks. A multitude of problems would have to be worked out by experts, but if such a plan were finally evolved it would result in very great benefits to the community, the railways, and the country. The municipality which sucessfully evolves such a plan of local distribution of freight will not only advance its own interests but will perform a patriotic service of no slight value.

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HONOR TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE

On page 498 of your magazine of March 27, 1918, you quote from Rheta Childe Dorr's book on "Inside the Russian Revolution" the remark about the "great American author Miller," of whose works the Czarina of Russia was so fond. At the end of the article you say: "We leave it to our readers to decide who among the many American writers named Miller is the author so admired."

I do not now remember the source of my information, but as far back as twelve or fifteen years ago it was my understanding that the Presbyterian Board of Publication had a standing order to send to the Czarina of Russia any books published by the Rev. J. R. Miller, D. D., who was editor of the Sunday-school publications of the Presbyterian Church and a Philadelphia pastor.

CHARLES B. MITCHELL.

Miami, Oklahoma.

FREEDOM AND TEACHING

I

A great many people must be feeling under great obligation to Dr. Abbott for his "Knoll Paper" on "Have Teachers Special Privileges?" in the issue of March 27.

In all the unsatisfactory discussion of this matter that exposition of the question is most clear and convincing. It agrees so completely with what the common people generally feel, I think, when they send their boys and girls away to college.

"The professor should be free, as long as he remains a professor, to teach what he believes to be the truth in his department. But it is the duty of his superior authorities to determine whether they will give the financial and moral support of the university to his teaching."

The enunciation of that principle carries conviction, and, furthermore, furnishes a basis for pronounced satisfaction to a great many.

W. G. MALLETT.

Farmington, Maine.

II

In an article in The Outlook for April 3 it is said that "No New England college had yet (1860?) learned that the object of education is to enable the pupils to do their own thinking."

May I enter a "caveat" for Brown, the third New England college and seventh pre-Revolutionary college, founded in 1764? The charter itself breathes the free spirit of the twentieth century rather than that of the eighteenth. The preamble speaks of the proposed institution as one "to which the youth may freely resort for Education in the vernacular and learned Languages and in the Liberal Arts and Sciences."

Though started by Morgan Edwards, then pastor of my own church in Philadelphia (the First Baptist Church), and promoted by other Baptists who could easily have made the Corporation consist entirely of Baptists, yet so liberal was the college that it provided that the Episcopalians, the Quakers, and the Congregationalists should be represented perpetually by fourteen of the thirty-six on the Board of Trustees, and four of the twelve Fellows could be "of any or all denominations." Since the Unitarian schism we have always had both orthodox Congregationalists and Unitarian Congregationalists in the Corporation. The President was the only officer of the teaching staff whose theological belief was prescribed. I am now the oldest member of the Corporation both in age and service. Next June I shall complete my forty-fifth year of service. Yet in all these many years I have never heard any discussion in the Corporation of a member's religious views except when an election to a vacancy made it necessary.

Again, the charter says: "Into this liberal and Catholic Institution shall never be admitted any religious Tests. But on the contrary [to emphasize this point] all the Members hereof shall forever enjoy *full, free, absolute* and *uninterrupted* Liberty of Conscience."

Moreover, in an age when theology entirely dominated teaching and the sciences were looked at askance it was provided "that the public Teaching shall in general respect the Sciences: and that the Sectarian Differences of Opinion shall not make any Part of the public and classical Instruction; Although all religious Controversies may be studied freely, Examined and Explained by the President, Professors and Tutors in a personal, separate and distinct Manner to the youth of any or each Denomination."

This last exemption from the study of sectarian theology—the body of Baptist doctrines, it will be observed, was *not* exempted from the prohibition—was a wholly novel idea. Harvard and Yale, the only New England colleges then existing, both required the study of Congregational theology of every student. The charter of Brown expressly prohibited such study as a part of the curriculum (see especially Dexter's "Yale Biographies and Annals" and his "Memorials of Eminent Yale Men" for the theological requirements of Yale). This broad liberality in providing for non-Baptists on the Corporation, in prohibiting the holding of any sectarian religious views as a qualification or a disability in any members of the Faculty (beyond the general restrictions to Protestants), and in prohibiting sectarian teaching to all students, is an outstanding contribution to liberal Christianity by Brown.

To emphasize also the introduction of the sciences into the curriculum, the very next member elected to the Faculty after the President was Daniel Howell, as Professor of Natural Philosophy, and his immediate successors were Joseph Brown and Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse.

Among its students also Brown lived up to its promises of freedom of conscience. At a time when the Jews were often "baited," the Corporation, on September 6, 1770, voted "that the children of Jews may be admitted to this Institution, and entirely enjoy the freedom of their religion without any constraint or imposition whatever." In 1774 the Seventh-Day Baptists were exempted from the law requiring attendance at church on Sunday. The Quakers also were exempted from the regulation which prohibited students from wearing their hats within the college walls.

With such examples in charter, laws, and customs, could there have been any greater encouragement to "the pupils to do their own thinking"?

As a student in residence, as undergrad-

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But even then such heats do not actually begin to heat, until the numerous separate heaters, all over the house, are *first* heated.

You at once see what a decided loss there must be in all that "heating-up" before you actually get any heat.

The Kelsey loses none of its heat by converting heat from one form to another.

It is practically as direct and as quick in results as is the heat from a campfire that you hold your hand over.

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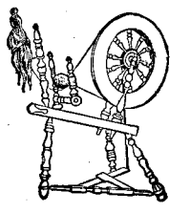

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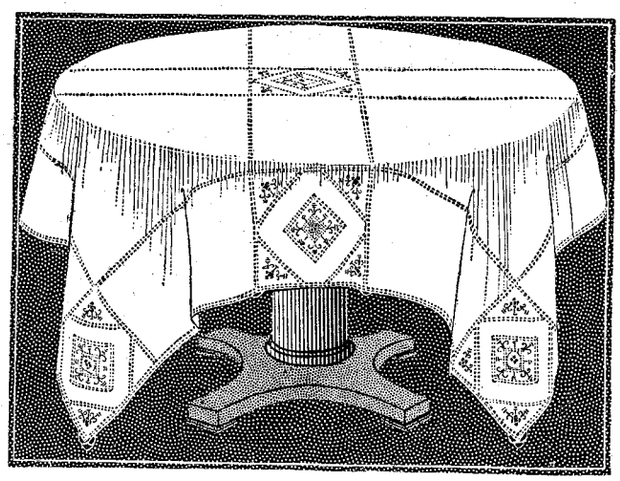

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Freedom and Teaching (Continued)

uate from 1855–60, I can bear testimony that "to do our own thinking" was the constant exhortation of such men as Wayland, Lincoln, Harkness, Chace, Gammell, Hill, and others, and as a member of the Corporation I have the best of reasons to believe that the remarkably liberal spirit of 1764 still pervades both Faculty and students.

W. W. KEEN.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

NOT TO BE HELPLESS

BY LEWIS E. THEISS

When Johnny comes marching home again, he may have to ride in the ambulance. The Surgeon-General, the Red Cross, and other agencies are preparing to take care of Johnny if he does come that way. The Federal Board for Vocational Training has recently reported to the Senate and asked for $10,000,000 for its work.

In rehabilitating our crippled soldiers curative treatment will first be given. Next each subject will be fitted out with those wonderful new artificial legs, or arms, or fingers, which enable their possessors to accomplish such remarkable things. Then, if an injured man cannot follow his pre-war calling, he will be re-educated, fitted for something he can do. And, finally, he will be given a job.

And there is the crucial point in the entire plan—the job. What can a cripple do in industry, and who will employ him?

Those are questions that must be answered before Johnny comes home. And that means that American business and industry must be combed to find the answer. But who is going to do the combing?

The Pennsylvania State Department of Labor and Industry, with a spirit as fine as that of ancient Isaiah's, has answered, "Here am I. Send me." And has led the way for other commonwealths. For it has already begun a systematic canvass of the State's employers.

Two questionnaires have been sent out. The first asks Pennsylvania employers to indicate the number and kinds of positions in their plants where crippled men can be advantageously employed. Thirty-eight types of disability are specified in this questionnaire, covering practically every conceivable type of disfigurement. The answers to this questionnaire will provide the Pennsylvania authorities with a complete card index of the State's industries, showing how crippled men can be successfully employed. The second questionnaire requests employers to indicate positions in their plants now held by disabled workers. That will provide a practical census of the disabled at work in the State.

The letter explaining the questionnaire and the questionnaire itself are printed on one form, which can be easily handled. When returned, these forms can be filed as a card index. They will be classified by the State Bureau of Employment, which will thus be in position immediately to place any rehabilitated cripple seeking work.

As Samson secured honey from the carcass of the lion after his struggle with the beast, so we shall derive many benefits from the awful war we are now engaged in. Not the least of these benefits will be the altered situation of the cripple. Never again will crippling entail relegation to the scrap-heap. And just as the Johnny who dies to save democracy shall not have lived in vain, so the man who comes home in the ambulance will have served all cripples for the time.

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